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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHINA

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHINA

FROM 1860 TO 1907

BY

REV. BERTRAM WOLFERSTAN, S.J.

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PREFACE

"By what authority dost thou these things? And who hath given thee this authority?"—MATT. xxi. 23.

IN any consideration of the conversion of the non-Christian world one fact becomes at once apparent, viz., that there are, in the main, two widely distinct agencies at work—the Roman Catholic Church, and the innumerable religious connections which compose the Protestant body.

It is sometimes maintained by benevolent persons that, as both are working on behalf of "our common Christianity," they are equally desirable; for, while at variance as to details, they are one in all essentials.

But this condition is by no means fulfilled, as, far from coinciding in essentials, they are not even agreed in the primary statement of what constitutes those essentials.

Were this division confined to Christendom the evil would still be sufficiently serious; but when it is carried into the presence of the non-Christian world, the harm becomes vastly augmented. For the heathen—by which term non-Christians are usually described—not unnaturally asks:—"Why should we adopt Christianity when its very teachers cannot agree among themselves as to wherein precisely it consists?"

One lamentable result, therefore, seems likely to accrue from this spectacle of a divided and contentious Christianity, viz., the making of the conversion of the heathen more difficult year by year, and thus delaying

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indefinitely the establishment of Christ's Kingdom upon earth.

Deplorable as such a state of things would be, it is by no means all. For, in the assertion of their own particular beliefs, and in controverting those of others, such bitterness and strife has been engendered among Christians themselves—the test of whose profession was to be, "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another" (John xiii. 35)—as to warrant the sceptic in his taunt, "See how these Christians *do* love one another!" And this fact has so impressed the heathen, that they have been known to declare their conviction that, "heathenism with love is better than Christianity without it." In brief, the delivery by portions of the Christian world of the message of salvation has been so accomplished, as to convict the messengers out of their own mouths of the falsity of their professions, and thus steel the heart of the non-Christian world against the message itself.

Wherefore, since so much confusion has arisen, and such obscurity has clouded the judgment of Christians themselves, it becomes of the very first importance, if we would consider the matter aright, to cast aside all prejudice, and divesting the case of all side issues, investigate what it is we are endeavouring to teach those whom we call "heathen," and what authority we have for so doing.

The Christian missionary, then, appears before the non-Christian world in one of two capacities. Either he is the merely earthly bearer of a merely human message; or he is the duly authorised herald of a message from Almighty God. If it is the former character in which he appears there is little to be said. His message being merely human, his hearers have just as much moral right to their opinions—provided there is nothing demonstrably irrational in them—as he to his; and they or their rulers are quite justified in their resentment of any attempt to upset the existing order

of affairs. But, if the missionary claims to be the properly accredited herald of a message from Almighty God, it behoves him not only to present one which is not inconsistent with any established conclusion of natural science, or fact of history, but also to account for his own reception of a revelation from the Creator and Lord of all things, his authority to impart the same, and his ability to give some assurance of his freedom from error in its transmission.

That the Christian doctrine emanated from Jesus Christ is admitted by all; and of His actual existence upon earth, as a historical fact, there is now no serious dispute in any quarter. But whether this Christian doctrine was supernatural, and consequently amounted to a divine revelation or no, rests upon the fact that He had a divine commission; and this again depends on whether He was what He asserted Himself to be—the Son of God. The Christian contention is that Jesus Christ did so prove this by the manifestation of a power more than human over Nature, animate and inanimate, during His life, and still more by His own Resurrection. For, it is obvious that no one could raise himself, of his own power, from death to life, unless he were the Lord of both—in fact, God.

Our first duty, then, is to show, not that the Gospel narrative describes the life and actions of a divine Being (for that is obvious, granting the facts as described), but that we can be assured of the absolute truth of that narrative. The facts set forth rest, in the first instance, on the testimony of those that witnessed them. In their case the Divinity of Christ was proved by His known character and His wondrous works, especially the Resurrection. As credible witnesses of those miracles they asked their hearers to share their convictions, "the Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs that followed" (Mark xvi. 20). Of course, those converted owed both the impulse to believe and its result to God's grace, but

their adhesion was won to start with by the demonstrated credibility of the witnesses.

But now, mark the whole scope of their message. It embraces not only the whole revelation of God's Nature and Attributes, and of man's duty towards Him which was comprised in Christ's teaching and example, but also the fact that they had the same divine commission as He had, "As the Father hath sent me, I also send you" (John xx. 21). We accept that fact precisely on the same grounds as we accept the rest of their message, the acceptance of which or non-acceptance (through ignorance or incredulity) makes the difference between Christian and non-Christian.

We may pause here to dwell upon the supreme importance of the Christian revelation. It is a communication from the Creator of the Universe—Who is Truth itself—of certain facts concerning Himself; and also a prescription of the nature of the service He desires from His rational creatures; in order that they may attain the sole end for which He created them—His own glory and the salvation of their souls. We can best appreciate the value to be attached to that end by considering the price which Christ paid to secure it. For it He came on earth, for it He suffered and died, and for it He commissioned the witnesses of these stupendous events to testify to them, and teach His doctrine to all people.

It follows, then, immediately, that the divine Wisdom, having matter of such importance to communicate to mankind, must have taken every precaution to see that the message was clearly understood, and transmitted in all its integrity. To suppose, therefore, that any ambiguity existed in Christ's instructions to the first Christians is to suppose that Almighty God made a revelation to those whom He selected to hand it to their contemporaries and to posterity, being indifferent the while as to whether

they understood it aright; and that He prescribed the manner in which He would be honoured and served, but still left it open to misconception. If this be so, another mystery is added to the many which encompass us, viz., Why was any revelation made at all? And such a supposition involves us in the further conclusion, among others, that the work of Jesus Christ for man began and ended with the Redemption, that He brought no message to the human race—or none that was essential—and that man's subsequent service of God was not to be concerned with the act of Redemption, further than the preservation of the memory thereof as a more or less vague historical fact.

Hence the Christian belief, eminently simple and reasonable, has always been that Jesus Christ had a definite message for mankind—His own contemporaries and the rest of the human race to the end of times—and that He must have made adequate provision for the right understanding and entire transmission of this message. It remains for consideration how this was to be secured.

It was in fact secured by the establishment of a single, organised, visible community, charged with the custody and transmission of Christ's message to the human race. This community was single because all the members were to agree in one faith, practise the same method of worship—sacrifice—and avail themselves of the same means of sanctification—the sacraments; while they were all to be united under one head in whom resided the supreme authority. This unity under one head implied organisation, which is the distribution of functions among the members of a composite body by the supreme authority thereof; for organisation was necessitated by the fact that the community was to extend over the whole world. This community was also to be visible, *i.e.*, the fact of the members being associated was visible, in that the bond of union among them was of

its own nature cognoscible by the senses, and of such magnitude as to attract attention to itself.

Furthermore, this one head was protected for all time against errors in the discharge of his office as Teacher and Pastor of all Christians, in that he was to receive special divine guidance.

The mere fact of a claim to such a prerogative by a single individual would possess a special significance of its own; but the additional fact of the spectacle of an ever-increasing number of individuals, whose origin, aspirations, and opinions on every other subject, were so multitudinous and varied, being prepared to acknowledge it, would afford a testimony to the co-operation of some great principle in their hearts, to account for which human explanations of mere "organisation" or "discipline" would be wholly insufficient. For, the obvious answer to such explanations would be:—Organise in the same manner, exercise the same discipline, and secure the same result.

We have next to consider that it was not the souls of those of the first century only for whom Christ died. Those who lived in succeeding ages were of equal value in the sight of God, and they would need instruction and direction if they were to attain the only end for which they had been created. The first Christians were but mortal, and they having passed to their reward, their functions must devolve upon others, if the Christian message of salvation was to be delivered —a necessity conterminous only with Time itself.

It follows, then, that—unless God has ceased to care for His creatures—this message should still be in process of delivery, and with the same authority and exactitude as at the commencement. In other words, that those early Christians the witness-bearers, and the living Authority their head, must have successors on earth to-day. The existing Christians must be able to point to an existing Authority as their guide and their security; and the Authority must be able to

demonstrate his functional descent from the original fount of all spiritual authority, Jesus Christ our Lord. Sundry conclusions may be drawn from the above :—

(i.) It was to be expected that, since the Christian dispensation amplified and perfected the Mosaic; and not only exacted a higher standard of morality from mankind, but also elevated those previously classed as "Gentiles" to the status of "Chosen People," it would meet with unbounded opposition from those interested in maintaining the existing order of affairs. Also that among temporal rulers would be found some who—considering their sovereignty menaced, or influenced by other motives—would refuse to permit the message to be promulgated within their jurisdiction. Further, that sinners of every sort, unwilling to accept it themselves, would oppose its acceptance by others. If human restrictions were to be respected in this matter, it is plain that it would become possible for God's commands to be over-ridden by those of man. The messengers, consequently, were still to "go and teach," but be prepared for opposition, danger—perhaps death. They were to go, and take the consequences of going, while the result of their efforts, and the eventual reckoning with those who hindered them were to remain in the hands of Him who sent them.

(ii.) In spiritual matters there was to be no arbitrary barrier between nations. It was the Church of Christ, the Universal Church, that was to be established, not the Church of this, that, or the other country.

(iii.) The methods — or some of them — of the messengers might not command general approval; just as in our own day, the tolerance of "caste" in India; and the acceptance of "official rank" in China, by Catholic missionaries, and so on, might be open to question. In such a case the hearers had to distinguish between the revelation conveyed as from Almighty God, and methods of promulgation of obviously human origin. These last from the fact of their usually being

local, and therefore easily traceable to their source, would proclaim themselves to be no part of the revelation, the integrity of which was in no way affected thereby.

Note.—While this was being written, the "official rank" of missionaries in China has been withdrawn by Imperial Decree, thus affording an excellent illustration of the principle.

(iv.) Some among the messengers might not prove worthy of their high vocation, and might even give scandal by their conduct.

That would merely show that they were human, not that their message was not divine. Inerrancy was attached to the message, not to the bearers of it in their general conduct. As long as God wills the evangelisation of the world by frail creatures, all the workers must needs be imperfect, and some more so than others.

But, should the hearers, taking offence at the imperfections of the evangelist, decide to discard the message he brought and substitute another, what would this be but to supersede the divine revelation by another—excellent possibly but merely human, and, as such, only a matter of opinion, and consequently, possessing no authority which anyone would be bound to respect? To take a parallel instance: the fact that men do not keep the often good and equitable laws they have enacted themselves, is not admitted to make out a case for the abolition of all law—and therefore of order—but one for the correction of the guilty parties.

In practice, this deplorable phase has been present from the initial stage of Christianity. The members of the original apostolic body—chosen by Jesus Christ Himself, trained by Him, and fortified by His example for three years—on several occasions gave great cause to the enemy to blaspheme. One betrayed his Master, the chief of them denied Him thrice, the

remainder—one only excepted—"forsook Him and fled."

(v.) And finally. If, as has been claimed, the Christian message of salvation is still promulgated throughout the world, and with the same authority and exactitude in the twentieth century as in the first, —or to put it concretely: if Almighty God has appointed any Authority competent to manifest to man "what is truth"; and that Authority is still in being—the world at large has the right to demand some proof before admitting the claim of any individual or individuals to the office. And the very least that the world can demand is that the Authority himself, and his agents, the subordinate bearers of the Christian message, shall deliver that message in identical terms, in every land, and under all circumstances.

Anything less than this—any consideration of "what modern opinion will tolerate"; or the "inadvisability of promulgating" this or that doctrine, here or elsewhere; any "surrender of much that we hold dear" in order "to secure a tolerable degree of unity"; any tampering with the revelation vouchsafed to man by his Maker, in short—will convict the claimants to the office of custodians and teachers of divine Truth, out of their own mouths, at one and the same time, of the self-imposed nature of their commission to teach, and the erroneous character of the doctrine of which they are the exponents.

There are, therefore, three conditions which must be satisfied by any Christian community if it would establish its position as a duly authorised teacher of divine Truth, viz., Apostolic Succession, Infallibility, and consequently Unity of doctrine. Without the first the second cannot exist, and the absence of the third will denote the non-existence of the other two—this because contradictory doctrines cannot be the logical development of one great principle. These three

conditions depending upon one another, when found in combination, must form the credentials of the Christian Church on earth, and of Her agents the Christian missionaries.

We can now repeat our original question, viz., what is it that we are endeavouring to teach those whom we call "heathen," and what authority we have for doing so? And the answer must be that the Christian missionaries profess to be conveying to the non-Christian world a revelation from the God of Truth, concerning Himself, His doctrine, and the practice thereof.

In regard to authority, the Roman Catholic missionary can, through a long line of Chief Pastors, point to the day and hour when he received the message of salvation from Jesus Christ Himself, the command to transmit it to the world, and the assurance of the abiding presence of his Master as a security against error. In support of this last he can further point to his own complete unity in faith and practice with every other Catholic throughout the world, and with the Holy See, the immediate source of his authority.

It is impossible to lay too much stress on the testimony afforded by unity arising out of submission to one living Authority. The experience of the last three hundred years has abundantly proved that in matters in which political interests, temporal advantage, or public tranquillity are not concerned, unity of opinion and practice, even between those of the same nation, is well-nigh unattainable. Consequently the unity of so vast a body of the human race, drawn from every colour, language, and nation under heaven, not only with regard to the most abstruse questions which can exercise the intellect of man—many of which, moreover, being incapable of scientific demonstration, must rest on faith alone—but also in voluntary submission of intellect and will to the guidance of one person—usually

a feeble old man, and always devoid of material resources wherewith to enforce his behests—cannot be explained or accounted for by merely natural means. The full significance of this fact is becoming daily more clear at the present time, in view of the ever-increasing difficulties experienced by ecclesiastical authorities outside the Catholic Church in obtaining any sort of recognition, as powers that must be reckoned with, from without, and any degree of obedience from within. Wherefore, the true inference to be drawn from the unity of the Catholic Church is that the same God Who established Her authority still lends His aid by inclining the "unruly wills and affections of sinful men" to submit to it.

The non-Catholic missionary has to trace his connection between earth and heaven through the Catholic Church, and in so doing point to the day when he separated from Her. And—though the piety and zeal of such missionaries is unquestionable—as if to convince the heathen effectually that their teaching is merely human and fallible, conflicting opinion, unrestrained by authority, has divided and sub-divided them into numberless sects which can only introduce into heathen lands spiritual confusion, and thus pave the way to that profound religious scepticism which uncertainty, dissension, and the untrammelled vagaries of human speculation have produced among so many of their own countrymen.

Bible Christianity

It is often urged that the Bible is the sole rule of faith, that it contains all things necessary for the salvation of mankind, and that as it also contains the divine command to "go and teach all nations," there is no need of any extraneous authority.

But before we open our Bible, we are confronted with sundry difficulties:—By whom was it written? How came the Christian world to possess it? Above

all, what guarantee is there for the correctness of the assertion that it is what it is represented to be—the Word of God?

As regards the New Testament with which Christianity is more immediately concerned, the answer is that it was written by certain early Christians, witnesses for the most part, of that whereunto they testify; that its various sections were collected, and copies thereof multiplied, as far as means permitted, by the Catholic Church; and that as the first Apostles were the officially appointed witnesses to what is related and taught therein, so their successors in the Catholic Church to-day are the official custodians of the Holy Book. The Catholic Church is, consequently, the only authority competent to guarantee the authenticity of the Bible, which is in fact the history of Her own origin.

If then, the inspiration of the sacred Scriptures as the Word of God be asserted as an assured fact, it can only be in virtue of the infallible authority of the Catholic Church. Thus the various Protestant bodies are found practically acknowledging that authority by accepting Her guarantee for the Bible, and denying it when She would explain its contents.

It should be added that, with all Her reverence for the Bible, as one of Her greatest treasures, the Catholic Church is in no way dependent on it. The Holy Book came from Her, not She from It. She existed as an organised body before a word of the New Testament was written, and several centuries before the Canon of Holy Scripture was fixed.

Now, had Jesus Christ desired the evangelisation of the world by means of the Bible, it is evident that—wishing, as He did, the matter to be taken in hand forthwith—He would have provided the means necessary for the multiplication of the Book, and also have prepared mankind—or provided the machinery for so doing—to be in a position to use it when they received

it. Whereas for about fifteen hundred years copies had to be produced by hand — a process mainly accomplished in those mediæval monasteries on which so much indiscriminate abuse has been heaped. This necessarily costly method must have limited the possession of a Bible to the rich. In the then-existing state of education an even lesser number could have read it, given they possessed one. More than all, the Bible, being but a book, could not explain itself in cases of misunderstanding. That very considerable misunderstanding is possible needs no demonstration in an age when nearly every Article of the Christian Faith is alternately attacked, defended, affirmed or denied, all parties to the contention loudly claiming Scriptural authority for their views.

Christ our Lord, however, had prescribed the method: "*Go* ye and teach all nations" had been His command. How literally the Apostles understood Him is evident, for—unprovided with books or tracts—they went and taught. The Catholic missionaries, their successors, of every age down to to-day, have pursued the same course.

Thus far we have regarded the Bible from outside, but when we investigate its contents we find that, if one fact is more patent than another, it is the constitution of a living, teaching body, having the same authority as its divine Founder, accredited to the world at large, to endure for all time, and presided over by an infallible head. We may summarise our examination thus:—

Jesus Christ affirms all power to be given to Him in heaven and earth (Matt. xxviii. 18), and sends His disciples as He had been sent (John xx. 21), with official appointment as witnesses (Luke xxiv. 48) to preach the Gospel throughout the world (Mark xvi. 15), and inculcate observance of all He had commanded (Matt. xxviii. 20), which was to be brought to their minds by the Holy Ghost (John xiv. 26). Those who should despise them would be held to despise Him (Luke x.

16). Their successors also were to receive the special assistance of their Master, Who promised to be with them "all days even to the consummation of the world." (Matt. xxviii. 20).

If they have since lapsed into error, either: Christ's promise has not been kept; or, His presence has availed nought.

Moreover, unity among the teachers was of such moment, that our Lord prayed, "that they may be one" (John xvii. 11). It was of equal importance for those they taught; as prayer was also made "for those who through their word shall believe in me; that they all may be one" (John xvii. 20-1). By this perfect unity of the teachers among themselves and with their flocks the world was to be convinced of Christ's divine mission—"That the world may believe that thou hast sent me" (John xvii. 21). The converse of this latter proposition has been tersely enunciated by a modern Protestant writer:—"Romanism is one; Mohamedism is one; and Paganism is one; but we are not one. And until we become one, the world will never be convinced." (Reed's *Visit to the American Churches*, vol. ii., p. 293).

Of this living, teaching body:—"The first Simon who is called Peter" (Matt. x. 2); was chosen by his Master as a rock whereon to build His Church, against which the gates of hell should not prevail (Matt. xvi.); to strengthen his brethren (Luke xxii. 32); and feed the entire Christian flock (John xxi. 15-17). Jesus Christ having ascended into heaven:—Peter presides at the election of Mathias without remonstrance from any, and prescribes the conditions which the apostle as yet unchosen must fulfil (Acts i.). The entire Apostolic College being present on the day of Pentecost, Peter explains what had happened to the people (Acts ii. 14).

The acceptance of the Gentiles was specially revealed to Peter (Acts x. 15); who being imprisoned, prayer was made by the Church for him (Acts xii. 5)—though nothing of the sort is recorded concerning

others, not even St Paul in all his sufferings, among which was imprisonment. At the Council of Jerusalem: after "much disputing," Peter speaks (Acts xv. 7), and "all the multitude held their peace" (Acts xv. 12).

Finally: St Paul pays a visit *ad limina*—goes to Jerusalem "to see Peter" (Gal. i. 18), and incidentally meets James the Bishop of that diocese.

If then, in the face of this and much more, it is contended: that Jesus Christ established no permanent living teaching body, of which Unity was to be the external mark; and Peter held no special position therein; our Lord's promises must have been so many idle words; the Apostolic decision that "it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us" (Acts xv. 28) was a blasphemous pretension; and it is evidently useless to regard Holy Scripture seriously any longer.

There is yet another position which has only to be examined in detail to be seen to be untenable. Though nowhere defined, it amounts to this:—That the Church of Christ is the aggregate body of Christians throughout the entire world, irrespective of doctrine or practice; and that, taken in this sense, every Christian body has Apostolic Succession of some sort; and hence the work of this universally comprehensive "Church" may be said to have been continuous. For example:—"When we ask what place in the history of the Church has Providence given to Missions, we notice, first the Continuity of Missions. . . .

Fourth Century		Ulfilas.	Twelfth Century		Bp. Otto of Bamberg.
Fifth	„	St Patrick.	Thirteenth	„	Raymond Lull.
Sixth	„	Columba.	Fourteenth	„	John de Monte Corvino.
Seventh	„	Augustine.			
Eighth	„	Boniface.	Fifteenth	„	Las Casas.
Ninth	„	Ansgar.	Sixteenth	„	Francis Xavier.
Tenth	„	Vladimir.	Seventeenth	„	John Eliot.
Eleventh	„	St Stephen of Hungary.	Eighteenth	„	Carey.
			Nineteenth	„	Judson."[1]

[1] *Modern Missions in the East*, 1895, Edward A. Lawrence, D.D., pp. 4-5.

The foregoing being an illustration of the Continuity referred to; we find that St Augustine was sent by one Pope to evangelise the Anglo-Saxons, and continuous with him is John Eliot, a missionary to British America who denied the authority of the Pope of his day; St Francis Xavier, who promulgated the Catholic religion in India, had for a successor Dr Carey, who made it his life's work to undo his teaching; while Dr Judson was not even continuous with himself, as he changed his denominational relations on his way to the heathen, being "convinced that the New Testament furnished no authority for infant baptism."[1] It would seem, therefore, that Continuity of this description does not demand further examination.

And now, by way of complete answer to the question at the beginning, "By what authority dost thou these things? And who hath given thee this authority?" we may put in a sentence the reply the Roman Catholic missionary must always give:—"By the authority of the Catholic Church, given to Her by Christ our Lord." And the claims of the Catholic Church may be briefly stated as follows:—

1. That to Her—and to Her alone—in the persons of the first Apostles, was the divine command addressed, "Go, teach all nations."

2. That the Catholic Bishops of to-day are the successors of those Apostles; the Pope, the Chief Pastor of them all, is the functional descendant of St Peter; and to Him is due the submission and obedience, in spiritual matters, of all people on earth, as to the Authority delegated by Jesus Christ to teach them the way of salvation.

3. That She does not depend, in any degree, upon the Bible for authority or doctrine; but that, on the contrary, the Bible depends upon Her for guarantee and interpretation.

[1] *Memoirs of Rev. Adoniram Judson, D.D.*, Francis Wayland, vol. i., p. 95.

4. That She is not a sect, *i.e.*, one Church among many equally good; nor will She tolerate such within Her Communion. Further, that union with other religious bodies in any other manner than their complete submission to Her teaching in matters of Faith and Morals is impossible.

5. That, since all Christian nations were converted, in the first instance, by agents authorised by Her, the world is beholden to Her for such measure of Christianity as it now possesses.

6. And that, consequently, She, and She alone, is the duly accredited herald of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, not only to the heathen, but also to the Christian world outside Her fold.

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INTRODUCTION

THE object of the following pages is to give some account of the Missionary work of the Catholic Church in China from about 1860 to 1907 as seen by observers both clerical and lay—for the most part non-Catholic—as nearly as possible in their own words, and with as little comment as possible.

The work itself was suggested by the fact that, in this country, very little is known on the subject, even among Catholics themselves, except that China is included in the general scheme of missionary operations of the Church.

The peculiar method—*verbatim* quotation of unofficial (*i.e.*, non-ecclesiastical) writers—has been employed because there is very little official information immediately available in England. Catholic missionaries do not as a rule publish books on their work, possibly because they have other matters demanding their more immediate attention. Principally, however, because had such Catholic material as does exist been utilised, it might have been suspect to many a non-Catholic reader who often, and no doubt sincerely, believes that Roman Catholics are taught to represent their Church and Her doings in any form that is likely to attract, quite irrespective of fact. This method has only been departed from in the case of the Table of Results at the end of the book. For obvious reasons these statistics could not possibly be obtained elsewhere, and yet appeared to be essential, if it were not to seem that the Holy Catholic Church has poured forth labour and

sacrificed lives in the "Middle Kingdom" in vain. The information just referred to has been obtained in every instance from China, and in most cases has been supplied for the purpose of this book by the condescension of the Right Reverend Vicars-Apostolic in charge of the Missions.

On the other hand, during the last forty years an ever-increasing number of persons, clerical and lay, have traversed the country, not a few of whom have put on paper at least something of what they saw of the Catholic missionary and his doings. Often the reference is of the slightest, but, in the aggregate it amounts to a very considerable volume of testimony.

While it is not uncommon for the casual traveller who has thus placed his experiences on record to be somewhat contemptuously dismissed as "a mere globe-trotter," it must be admitted that, though such an one may not have resided in the country, he is at least a competent witness to what he saw and heard while he was there. When such individuals proceed to instruct the world as to the correct method of dealing with Chinese questions, then perhaps, their utterances are of less value; but the examination of a very large number of works shows this to be the exception rather than the rule.

But the evidence available is not limited to the *obiter dicta* of travellers. Numerous Protestant missionaries have published works of more or less value on China; while much information is to be found in Diplomatic Correspondence, Consular Reports, and newspapers issued in England and China.

Consequently, in these days when the acquisition of Mining Rights is so very much in evidence in the Far East, it appeared to be regrettable that such a mine of valuable material should remain unworked—the only mineral remaining perhaps, for the exhumation of which the Peking Administration has not been "requested" to grant a concession to a European Syndicate.

Such being the sources of the present work, it is hardly surprising that the amount of information on the various points is very unequal, and sometimes very meagre. Especially will this be found in regard to details of Catholic education, hospitals, etc. But this arises from the very nature of those sources, *i.e.*, non-Catholic works. From the tabulated statement at the end it is quite evident that such good works are undertaken, and on a large scale. Yet, though the various authors must have seen them in operation very little has been said—be the reason what it may. However, for the reason given above, it has been preferred to leave the matter chiefly in the form of cold and unappetising statistics at the end, rather than to fill the void with accounts obtained from the Catholic missionaries.

The object and scope of the book being thus accounted for, it may be explained that before giving any information concerning the Catholic missions it appeared necessary to consider two difficulties which militate not only against the work of the Catholic Church, but also against the establishment of Christianity itself. The first is a matter of universal concern throughout the world, and consists in the bewildering variety of forms under which the Christian religion is presented to the heathen by the multiplicity of agencies employed in so doing. Concerning this division into sects in China we are assured by the late Mr Alexander Michie: "That it is a great evil can hardly be doubted. Whenever Chinese converts obtain a hearing on the subject they speak with no ambiguity of the immense loss of force which Christianity sustains through these divisions;"[1] and not unnaturally, since, according to the same gentleman:—"Excepting at the seaports, and in the case of the disciplined and regimented Catholics, the missionaries who are spread over China do pretty much what they individually like, and

[1] *Missionaries in China*, 1891, Alexander Michie, p. 52.

give such accounts of their work as they think sufficient."[1]

On the general question, Professor Gustav Warneck remarks :—" Gladdening, as, on the one hand, is the great number of this missionary host. . . on the other hand, it signifies an amount of division which works alike to confusion and weakness. It is a fatal watch-word which, since a short time ago has been given forth, especially in America, by rhetorical enthusiasts, 'Not concentration but diffusion,' for it leads to a kind of *franc-tireur* mission work. . . . Towards this multiplication of missionary organisations, manifold causes have contributed, besides the strengthening of the sense of missionary duty—confessional peculiarities, denominational loyalty, new theological tendencies and ecclesiastical formations, differences as to missionary methods, personal eagerness to found missions, occurrences in colonial politics, etc." Further we learn on the same authority that "women's missionary societies have in the latter half of our century been formed in ever increasing number." Hence the Professor concludes that: "It may be regretted that there is not a greater unity in the organisation of evangelical missionary work, such as in the Romish. The great variety of form characterising the Protestant Church, and the tendency to freedom characterising Protestantism assert themselves even in its missions. The dark sides are undeniable: friction between the missionaries of various denominations, stumbling-blocks to the heathen, and difficulties in the subsequent formation of native national Christian Churches. Albeit in the diversity there is also considerable gain. For not only has the profusion of missionary societies at home multiplied interest in missions, but also in this way a great variety of individual, national, and denominational gifts and powers has come to be employed in the mission field. And notwithstanding much unseemly

[1] *Missionaries in China*, 1891, Alexander Michie, p. 52.

rivalry, the common missionary work has fostered the 'ecumenical,' conception within Protestantism, as *e.g.*, the many missionary conferences attest. . . . Instead of founding new missionary societies, the endeavour should much rather be towards the union of missionary societies. . . We have diffusion more than enough. If it is carried still further upon principle, it must ultimately lead to the breaking up of evangelical missions into atoms." [1]

The second difficulty appears in the action of the European nations in regard to China. Authorities agree that the Chinese are tolerant of religion as such. This view gains support from the fact that, previous to the legal admission of foreigners into the interior of the country by treaty, the Catholic missionaries resided there secretly yet safely—which they could only have done by the connivance of those in whose midst they dwelt—with only occasional intervals of official persecution.

It would seem, however, that during the last forty years or so, missionaries have been the objects of much unpopularity. It is not a little remarkable too, that the rise and progress of this unfriendly spirit should have coincided with the inception and development of that phase of European activity known as the "opening-up of China."

This feeling is ascribed by one writer to the misunderstanding, or mismanagement in the delivery, of their message, on the part of the missionaries. But authorities more generally seem to concur in the opinion that the objection to Christianity—and therefore to its exponents, the missionaries—is, or was, not so much on account of itself as because it is foreign. Some, indeed, attempt to limit the antagonism to the Catholic missionaries alone; and ascribe it to the assumption by France of the Protectorate of Catholic missions.

[1] *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions*, 1901, Professor Gustav Warneck, pp. 85-6, 105, 143-4.

While it may doubtless be true that this and other causes affecting the Catholic missions may have played their part, the contention that the missionaries of the Church of Rome are alone of all Europeans regarded with aversion by the Chinese is not borne out by facts. These go to show that in the various outbreaks which have unhappily taken place, Protestant missionaries and other foreigners—including innocent children—have been equally the objects of attack, *e.g.*, the Anti-foreign Riots of 1891, and the Siege of the Legations in Peking in 1900.

Wherefore the explanation must be sought in a wider sphere than that of missionary operations of any sort. And it would seem to be found in the very remarkable experiences of the Chinese at the hands of the European nations. These do not seem to have produced in the Chinese mind a very favourable impression of that Christianity which those Western nations profess, and by the principles of which they loudly proclaim—or some of them—themselves to be guided. Nor is it alone on the Chinese in his native land that this unfavourable impression has been made. Among the higher classes instances are not unknown of those educated in Europe who have returned home more hostile than ever to the introduction of the Western religions—any of them—into the Flowery Land. The lower orders as well have had their lesson in practical Christianity abroad. The Chinese labourer or small tradesman has in most cases been returned without thanks by every country where he had ventured to set his foot. From a political and economical standpoint such inhospitality may possibly be capable of defence, but from that of justice the Celestial may perhaps be excused when he fails to receive the European as a man and a brother, who in the West received him as the "Heathen Chinee"—and made haste to eject him.

On all these accounts, therefore, the relations between

Europe and China, far from forming a mere "regrettable incident" in the annals of Christian missions, assume a special importance of their own, and require consideration at some length.

A few general asseverations concerning the Catholic Church in China can best be dealt with here.

1. That the Catholic Church in China is French. It is true that very many of the Catholic missionaries are of that nationality; but they are in China not as Frenchmen but as sons of the Church Universal, as they would be the first to admit. It is one of the glories of the French nation that hardly any instance of missions to the heathen in any age or clime can be quoted in which France has not been abundantly represented; and one which, it may confidently be hoped, will bring the divine blessing on her despite the present religious perversity of her rulers. There is no heathen country the soil of which is not dyed with French blood, and the Story of the Cross of Christ throughout the world is punctuated, so to speak, by the graves of Frenchmen martyred for their Faith. Not a few of these Frenchmen, it may be noted, are Belgians, Danes, Germans, Spaniards, and we know of one case at least of an Englishman, thus giving conclusive proof that their work is not merely national.

It does sound a little curious that we in England should be chanting hymns of praise at the shrine of an *Entente Cordiale* with the very nation whose citizenship we make a matter of reproach in China. It can only be surmised that the *Entente Cordiale* in England, like anti-clericalism in France, *n'est pas un article d'exportation.*

Moreover, if England and America are not represented in the Catholic missions in China, it is only because the Holy See has not chosen to send English-speaking communities to labour there; and this, in turn, may be due to the fact that the countries referred to have, in the state of Catholicity which has prevailed

since the Reformation, had quite enough to do in providing for the work at home. From this cause, at the present day, many British Colonies and Dependencies are entirely dependent on the apostolic zeal of other European nations, whose priests not only thus have to encounter the apathy of the heathen, but the not-always-veiled anti-foreign prejudices of the very citizens to whose aid they have come in their endeavours to bring Western civilisation and education to the natives. And, if England and America by voluntary severance from Catholic Unity have deprived themselves of their proper share in the apostolic work of the Universal Church, whose fault is that? It has been plausibly alleged that, had England remained constant to the Faith which was for so many centuries her own, there would not now be a pagan altar in the world.

2. That these French missionaries—exiled from home by their own voluntary act, never to return thither—are still devoted to their native land, and introduce French customs into China.

This comes strangely from Englishmen and Americans—among the latter of whom originated the maxim, "My country, right or wrong!"—and both of whom elevate patriotism to the rank of a cardinal virtue. In England, too, one of the standard objections to the Catholic Church is that She is a foreign institution ruled from a foreign country by a foreign head; conveniently oblivious of the fact that the Jesus Christ, whom all Christians worship as their Lord and Master, was also a foreigner and lived and died in a foreign land.

So the Englishman must be an Englishman whereever he goes, but the Catholic missionary must entirely denationalise himself! Further, we applaud the English missionary as a pioneer of commerce when he introduces British commodities into China;[1] and when we learn

[1] *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 1899, Mrs J. F. Bishop, F.R.G.S., p. 47.

that: "In my last year at Chang-sha the first Athletic Meeting on European lines, for military and civil students, was held in presence of the Governor;"[1] or that at Seoul, in Korea, there is a "Royal English School, with a hundred students in uniform, regularly drilled by a British sergeant of Marines, and crazy about football,"[2] and so on, we find all things as they should be; but it is obviously insufferable that a foreigner should presume to think that the customs or products of *his* native land might be desirable elsewhere!

With regard to England and her missions the case is, of course, wholly different, as we learn on the authority of the late Bishop of Durham. In a sermon in St Bride's Church, London (29th April 1895), his Lordship instructed his congregation that:—"This perception of a divine plan in the movements of human life brings home to us a fact of momentous interest. In this plan of God we have a definite place. . . . Our works are ready; and what these are can be seen from our position and endowments. For if as Englishmen, as English Churchmen, we consider our national character, our history, our necessary influence, our possessions, we cannot fail to acknowledge that we are called as no other people have been called, to missionary labour."[3] And again, 28th May 1894, in St Paul's Cathedral:—"God has set us to be not only conquerors, or pioneers, or masters, or furnishers of the materials of outward civilisation, but, beyond all, evangelists. The call is written in our history."[4] Further: "The destiny of China," says Rev. James Johnston, "is committed by a Higher Power as a

[1] *The Chinese Empire*, 1907, in section written by Mr A. H. Harris, A.C.C., Changsha, p. 188.

[2] *Korea and Her Neighbours*, 1898, Mrs J. F. Bishop, F.R.G.S., vol. ii., p. 208.

[3] *The Christian Aspects of Life*, 1901, Rt. Rev. B. F. Westcott, D.D., D.C.L., p. 164.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 143-4.

sacred deposit to the keeping of Great Britain—the Power which first broke down the wall of exclusiveness behind which the people had lived for untold ages in contented security and comparative comfort. I would earnestly appeal to the consciences of my fellow-countrymen to deal justly with a people whose future is in their hands; to their heart that they may act generously towards a nation which we have injured while benefiting ourselves; to their imagination that they may be tender in their treatment of an empire so ancient and so venerable, and withal afflicted with not a few of the excusable infirmities of age, but still possessed of great recuperative power."[1] Furthermore, Mr Pierson, who thinks "God's ways are strange, but they always are 'right,' and lead often by a circuitous route to the 'City of Habitation,'"[2] lets us know that "He who kept back the great inventions of Reformation times until His Church put on her new garments waited to unveil nature's deeper secrets, which should make all men neighbours, until the reformed Church was mobilised as an army of conquest!"[3]

It would be well if the following reminder conveyed in the generous language of Sir Ernest Satow to a meeting in the Albert Hall, London, were of more general acceptance. "There are two or three points which, it appears to me, should always be borne in mind by our missionaries. Firstly, it ought not to be forgotten that the Roman Catholic missions were the first in the field. We are celebrating the Centenary of the landing of Robert Morrison in China. But French Roman Catholics landed on its shores in 1582, more than three centuries ago. Since that day the Roman Catholics in China have endured many persecutions; many of their missionaries and hundreds of their converts have suffered death for the Faith. If, some-

[1] *China and Its Future*, 1899, James Johnston, pp. viii-ix.
[2] *The Modern Missionary Century*, 1901, Arthur T. Pierson, p. 186.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

times, they regard us as later intruders on ground which they had made their own, should we not bear with them patiently? I rejoice to believe that, in most parts of China the relations between Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries are of a friendly character, and that disputes are comparatively rare. In any case toleration of others seems to be peculiarly our duty."[1]

3. The Catholic Church is asserted to possess vast estates in China. Hence, converts are inferred to be attracted by temporal advantages attaching thereto.

That the Roman Catholic Church owns some property in China after three centuries' work there, is undoubted, and only to be expected—though what the extent of it may be it is impossible to say. But it is singular, that, if She is so bitterly hated as some of her critics would have us believe, these vast estates (the precise whereabouts of which is nowhere described) should have remained intact—miraculously as would seem—throughout the various anti-foreign riots, and still be available as a source of revenue.

Equally singular does it appear, that, with the command of vast estates, the Catholic missionaries should, by universal consent, be described as living very hard lives on the scantiest of stipends; and also that most of the forty Vicars-Apostolic throughout the Empire should be in dire need of funds to carry on the work of their missions at this moment—as several of their Lordships have admitted to the present writer.

More singular still is the fact—vouched for by sundry observers—that Chinese converts are required to contribute towards the support of their Church. Consequently, if they are converted by bribery, and practically have to refund the amount when they become so, it does not appear that their financial condition is much improved by the process.

Again, it is sometimes stated that Catholic orphanages are overcrowded, and the hospital equipments are not

[1] *The Times*, 1st Nov. 1907.

up to modern European standards. This is quite likely, and goes to contradict the suggestion of unlimited resources. And unfortunately the Catholic missionaries have not wealthy societies behind them in Europe or America. This must not be understood in depreciation of the magnificent works of charity undertaken by others. Indeed the Catholic missionaries themselves have reaped the benefit of them on occasions, *e.g.*, a French missionary informed the present writer (25th June 1907), in writing of missionaries, that "*plusieurs de la Classe Médicale ont plus d'une fois, et viennent encore de sauver la vie à quelques uns de nos meilleurs ouvriers avec un dévouement digne de tout éloge.*"

4. The Catholic missionaries are said to work in secret and by underhand means. Yet it is complained that they appear in the Law Courts to help their converts, and terrorise the magistrates; while till quite recently every missionary throughout the Empire held official Chinese rank of some degree.

5. Once more, the Catholic missionaries are censured for courting popularity by over-attention to the mundane interests of the converted. On the other hand, there are not wanting those who blame them for allowing their converts to "go along in their old ruts," desiring only that they be good Catholics.

6. While the Catholic missionaries are said to be unscrupulous and to put their doctrines in any form that is likely to please, it is a matter of reproach that the Church proclaims in China (as elsewhere throughout the world) the doctrine of the "Real Presence," and also "introduces the Confessional" there—the last not exactly a matter to attract.

7. That conversion to Catholicity is easy—the Catholic religion being idolatrous, those joining themselves to it "only exchange one idol for another"—but no one seems able to explain why they do so.

8. Catholic converts are not unfrequently referred to as "merely nominal Christians." Many thousands of them—and those in recent years — have been sufficiently nominal to die for their Faith, sometimes after horrible tortures. Protestant witnesses attest this; and the Catholic Church—always ready, in the eyes of those who know Her not, to agree to unhallowed compromises—asks no more of Her children than willing martyrdom. Many others no doubt have been less satisfactory in their lives, a defect which they share with a few so-called Christians outside the Church—even some Europeans at the Treaty Ports.

9. The Roman Catholic Church in China will unite with none, share with none, nor will She submit to any. And this is true, for She was sent to teach all nations, China among the number.

PART I

THE CHAOS OF CREEDS

CHAPTER I

NOT CONCENTRATION BUT DIFFUSION

Of all the countries whose conversion to Christianity has been the object of missionary effort since the year 1860, none has figured more largely than China. Societies with that end in view, either inclusively or exclusively, have multiplied; and private individuals have devoted their lives and their substance to her spiritual regeneration in constantly increasing numbers. Money, even the approximate amount of which will never be known, has been poured out like water by benevolent persons in Europe and America, to sustain the missionaries, and supply them with material to carry on their operations. Bibles, tracts, books of Christian instruction, all purporting to be in Chinese, have been lavished on the people, and the tale of their pages must, by now, be well into the hundreds of millions. Thus, for over forty years—to say nothing of the period antecedent to 1860—the Chinese have been preached to, exhorted, or otherwise instructed concerning the Christian Faith, till it would seem that localities where, at least, the fame thereof has not penetrated, must be difficult to find.

Yet the goal of so much effort, the Conversion of China, seems as far off as ever, and has even been said to be impossible of attainment.

What is to be understood by this last statement? Is it to be supposed that Jesus Christ, in giving the command to His Apostles, for themselves and their

successors:—"Going therefore teach ye all nations,"[1] deliberately assigned to them a task which—as far as China is concerned—He knew to be beyond their power to accomplish? Or, may it not be, as seems much more probable, that the methods and conditions of missionary labour have so altered, that the Christianising of China will be so indefinitely delayed as to amount to an impossibility, not merely during our own generation, but for many of those to come?

This view seems to be sustained by even the briefest and most general comparison of the "Missionary Question" as it appeared in China in the year 1860, and for centuries previous thereto, with the same problem as it presents itself to-day.

In the first case, the Cross of Christ was introduced to the Chinese, as far as the interior of the country was concerned, by the agents of one organisation only, the Roman Catholic Church. These, as befitted men who asserted themselves to come in pursuance of a divine precept to teach, were officially connected with none of the governments of the West; from whom they neither desired nor received countenance or protection. Working in the somewhat fitful sunshine of the Imperial favour while it lasted, they were nevertheless perfectly prepared to face the horrors of the torture-chamber and the execution-ground when it was withdrawn. They came to China—as indeed they still go—for their lifetime; and, adopting the national costume and habits, they lived among and for their people, thus identifying themselves with them as far as was humanly possible. Moreover, they had the courage to carry into effect their Master's Instructions to missionaries, viz., "Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses,"[2] by living in apostolic poverty and simplicity; while their entire devotion to their missionary labours was further assisted by observance of St Paul's monition:—"He

[1] Matt. xxviii. 19. [2] Matt. x. 9.

that is without a wife is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please God."[1] Finally, and more important than all, these Catholic missionaries, without exception, taught one uniform doctrine, administered the same sacraments, and submitted to one Authority; thus they were a perpetual example of that Unity they preached, and which Christ desired when He prayed "that they may be one, as we also are."[2]

The result generally was thus described in 1872 by H.M. Consul in Shanghai:—"Their devotion is as remarkable as their success has been astonishing, and I am one of those who believe that they have been the means of accomplishing, and still do accomplish, a vast amount of good. . . . Wherever a Romanist missionary station is found in a town or village, it is sure to be a nucleus of a more or less extended circle of Christian families, in many of which the faith has been handed down from generation to generation, and I have often been struck by the quiet and respectability which prevails among such communities, as compared to the heathen around them, as also by the respect and attachment shown by them towards their 'spiritual fathers,' as the priests are usually termed."[3]

To-day, the Chinese seeker-after-truth finds himself confronted by such a multiplicity of creeds, persuasions and organisations as might well bewilder a more acute intelligence than his; the operations of which are "as random as the winds of heaven, simultaneously let loose from the Æolus-bag of all the Churches in Christendom."[4] The Roman Catholic missionaries are still at work, and with the same zeal and unanimity as of old; but "the entrance of Protestantism into China, with its inquiring and disputatious spirit, is proving fatal

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 32. [2] John xvii. 11.

[3] *The Foreigner in Far Cathay*, 1872, W. H. Medhurst, pp. 33-4.

[4] *Problems of the Far East*, 1894, Hon. G. N. Curzon, M.P., pp. 425-6.

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to the ingathering of the harvest anticipated by devout Catholics as the result of two centuries of toil in this ungrateful land. As in the West, the door once opened to doubt, *dogmatic* Christianity seems doomed."[1]

"On several occasions," Mr Diósy tells us, "when I have asked some highly educated Oriental, trained in Western knowledge, and apparently in every respect capable of seeing eye to eye with Occidentals, why he did not embrace Christianity, he has answered: '*What sort of* Christianity?' And there has been an ironical tone in the apparently innocent words."[2]

It is perhaps hardly to be wondered at that the Chinese should be bewildered by the variety of Protestant Missionary Bodies ready to undertake their spiritual instruction. In 1876 there were 29 Societies working in China; in 1889 there were as many as 41; in 1906 these had increased to 82; and "by counting in detached bodies of workers now reckoned as 'Independent' the present total would be 91. The figures show that within the last seventeen years the number of organizations has doubled."[3]

"What are the burden and bearing of our Lord's intercessory prayer?" asked Rev. William Muirhead, of the London Missionary Society, in 1870, "Unity in the fullest sense of the term . . . what are required by the necessities of the case in China? That all missionaries there should be as closely ranged as possible against the common foe, and employ all the means in their power for the edification and union of their adherents. But what is the condition of these in this respect? In some places numbers of small Churches have been formed, corresponding to the variety of denominations represented by the various missions.

[1] *Through the Yang-tse Gorges*, 2nd ed., 1898, Archibald J. Little, F.R.G.S., p. 172.

[2] *The New Far East*, 1900, Arthur Diósy, F.R.G.S., p. 218.

[3] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, 1907, ed. by D. MacGillivray, p. 667.

The natives connected with them are led to entertain the peculiar prejudices and prepossessions which mark the foreign missionaries as a result of their home education. The style of things current among ourselves in matters that are by no means essential forms a distinction badge of the converts lately reclaimed from heathenism, and so the exact counterpart of our different sects and denominations at home is in danger of being observed and manifested abroad."[1]

In his Report on the Trade of Chinkiang for 1884, Mr Consul Oxenham remarks that "a novel feature of this place has been the portentous increase of missionary establishments. The China Inland Mission has long made the place its centre, and ten or twelve young persons, male and female, have lately recruited its ranks." The Jesuits have long resided here, and now the Episcopalians, Methodist Episcopal Church, Presbyterians, Southern Baptist Convention—"each of these societies," continues the Consul, "has purchased land, has built handsome and commodious houses, and will have, I presume, its church. . . . The Chinese may well be bewildered at such a variety of sects, and, for the present, missionaries are more numerous than converts."[2]

In 1888, we find Rev. Dr Williamson entering into details in a paper read at Chefoo on 3rd September :— "To begin with, we have the Church of England, with her thirty-nine articles, her prayer-book, and her formularies, all translated, and she is striving and hoping to impose them in all their entirety upon China. Again we have the Presbyterians with the Westminster Confession, their Longer and Shorter Catechism, their system of Church government, also translated, equally zealous and sanguine in their endeavours to lead the Chinese to adopt their system. Further, we have the Methodists

[1] *China and the Gospel*, 1870, Rev. William Muirhead (of L.M.S.), p. 239.

[2] Parliamentary Paper, China (6), 1885, p. 93.

with their elaborate organisation. The Congregationalists with their form of government; the Baptists with theirs; the Lutheran Church seeking to reproduce in China a facsimile of itself, neither less or more; the American Episcopal Church with a like aim. And so with other denominations. What a spectacle to thoughtful Chinamen! And there are many such. No wonder they say to us: 'Agree among yourselves, and then we will listen to you.' But this is not the worst aspect of our divisions. We have three branches of the Episcopal Church, eight different sects of Presbyterians, six sects of Methodists, two Congregationalists, two Baptists, besides several other minor bodies, all acting independently of each other, and in addition to all we have the Inland Mission, many of whose members belong to our own denomination, but the bulk of whom disclaim creeds and systems; and unless the leaders of that Mission receive special guidance from God, it will become neither more or less than another sect." The reverend gentleman further tells us that Shanghai had seven missions, while Tientsin and Pekin had five each.[1]

Thus far the sects in detail; but the late Mr Alexander Michie thought that "there is perhaps a still more serious evil in the vagaries of hundreds of irresponsible evangelists, who go about the country retailing the figments of their own excited brains as the pure gospel. They say that whatever the diversities in their teaching may be, they are at one with the main body in essentials; which is a mere begging of the question. How do they know what classification of 'essentials' and 'non-essentials' their ignorant hearers may be making? On these missionaries' own showing, it is impossible to prevent the poor, uneducated people from making the whole thing a tangle of fetishism, nor do the evangelists always resist to the uttermost the tendency to make 'medicine men' of them, which shows itself frequently in their ignorant followers. On

[1] *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, Jan. 1889, pp. 25-6.

all such matters, we repeat, we are dependent on the parties interested for information as to their doings, and as they are neither unbiassed nor, as a rule, persons whose judgment has been strengthened by severe training, their statements have to be received with some caution. The most eccentric missionaries are those, many of them single women, belonging to Mr Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission. They number 480 [this was written in 1891], more than one-third of the total force of Protestant missionaries in China. They are drawn from every sect in England, from Canada, from Sweden, and perhaps other countries; and the territory of China is systematically parcelled out among them, so as to obviate collision and to minimise the outward aspect of their diversities of creed and conduct. Members of other bodies may look askance at the doings of the China Inland Mission, as an English squire does at those of the Salvation Army, but they cannot dissociate themselves from them in the eyes of the Chinese, who make no fine-drawn distinctions where foreigners are concerned."[1]

Concerning schemes of Theology which are taught, the same authority affirms that they "would require a separate treatise, and much more information than is at present available to elucidate." On the one hand, it would seem that "modern biblical criticism is simply ignored, as well as the widening tendency of the modern Churches in matters of set doctrine"; and on the other, that "while even the cast-iron theologians of the Free Church of Scotland and the stern Presbyterians of America are seeking ways of escape from the rigid fetters in which the famous Westminster Divines have bound them these two hundred years and more, and are actually making concessions to unbaptised infants, Calvinism is being diligently inculcated on the Chinese and Japanese, as if it were the ultimate and indisputable truth. . . . A lady, fresh perhaps from some theological

[1] *Missionaries in China*, 1891, Alexander Michie, pp. 52-3-4.

seminary, propounds for 'Chinese women' — women who, on the testimony of another experienced and keen-witted missionary lady, are unable to grasp the simplest abstract idea—a scheme of divinity so elaborate that if the salvation of our bishops were made conditional on their mastering it, the majority of their lordships would have sorrowfully to accept the alternative. . . . One man issues a leaflet which laboriously proves that the cosmos was not created by God, as is commonly believed, but by Jesus. Christian worship is, by the same unreason, shown to be directed to Jesus, and *not to God*, an essential distinction being made between them. It is not surprising, after this, to find the corollary of justification by faith worked for all it is worth by some of the irresponsible apostles, ridden by a kind of quack logic, who lay it down plainly to the Chinese that Christians need not be moral, as they have only to believe!"[1]

In the same year, 1891, we learn that the *China News* printed the catechism of the "Holy Catholic Church of America," said to be a "product of two young renegades from the Baptist Church, now acting under the direction of a superior, who has the genuine spirit of the bishops of the times of John Bunyan."[2]

In 1895, Mr Norman remarking that "in Shanghai alone there are seven missions—the London Mission, American Presbyterian, the American Episcopal, the American Episcopal Methodists, the Church Missionary Society, the American Baptists, and the Seventh-day Baptists," proceeds to quote the late Dr Williamson as follows:—"Here then we have seven sets of foreign missionaries working seven different churches; seven sermons every Sunday, seven sets of prayer meetings, seven sets of communing services, seven sets of schools, two training agencies, seven sets

[1] *Missionaries in China*, pp. 58-9, 60-1.

[2] *Moghul, Mongol, Mikado and Missionary*, 1891, Samuel A. Mutchmore, D.D., vol. ii., p. 172.

of buildings, seven sets of expenses, four or five versions of the Bible, and seven different hymn-books at least." "In the face of these facts"—so Mr Norman thinks—"one is surely justified in saying that we have not yet reached a point of Christian unity which affords us any moral justification for thrusting our theological views by force of arms upon heathen nations."[1]

In 1900 there appears to have been an increase at Shanghai which, we gather, "is the headquarters station for nearly all the mission boards in China, and the local directory lists thirty-five separate establishments under the head of 'Churches and Missions,' this bewildering number of roads to Christianity having drawn criticism from Dr Henry Drummond, and led others to wonder if missions could not accomplish more if each sect had one separate province or district to itself, as mission work among American Indian tribes has been apportioned to the different denominations."[2] In Hankow we learn that sixteen different religious establishments existed at the same date:—"Catholic, Protestant, Greek, and Quaker, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopal —English, Canadians, Swedish, Norwegians, Spanish, Italians, Scotch, Americans, and Russians, all striving in evangelical ways, and by their number confusing the native."[3]

In 1907, Rev. Dr Gibson writes that:—"The Protestant missionaries in the Province of Kwang-tung present a large variety of method. There are now close on twenty different missions at work which, with one or two exceptions, work harmoniously together. They are of different nationalities—American, British, Colonial, German, Scandinavian, International

[1] *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, 1895, Henry Norman, pp. 306-7.

[2] *China: The long-lived Empire*, 1900, Eliza Ruhama Scidmore, p. 287.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

—and present every variety of ecclesiastical development."[1]

In expressing her doubts as to whether it will be possible to perpetuate the Protestant Book of Common Prayer in China as it stands, Mrs Bishop informs us that, "already many Eastern Christians are claiming 'an Oriental Christ, not a Christ disguised in Western garb'—it may be that they will claim too a form of worship which shall be Oriental both in thought and expression, instead of one which represents to them, in their most sacred moments, an exotic creed."[2] Moreover, we learn that one of the advantages of conversion by native agency is that "it is likely to ensure a more purely native type of Christian. There is always the danger of foreigners thrusting their own conception of Christian doctrine and practice upon the Chinese. Everything in our teaching which tends to denationalise must be rigorously avoided. The temptation, always present to the missionary, to follow the line of development with which he is familiar in the the West, will end in creating a Western cult on Chinese soil, which must weaken the testimony of the native Church and discredit her witness among the heathen around."[3]

The Chinese are evidently of the same mind. "For several reasons, some of them obvious, the relations between the Reformed [Dutch] and English Presbyterian missions have been specially close and cordial, becoming closer as the work has developed. The result has been not only co-operation in higher educational work — academical and theological—but complete union in the establishment of a single Church of the Reformed faith and Presbyterian order,

[1] *The Chinese Empire*, 1907, ed. by Marshall Broomhall, B.A., p. 48.

[2] *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 1899, Mrs J. F. Bishop, F.R.G.S., p. 291.

[3] *East of the Barrier*, 1902, Rev. J. Miller Graham, p. 83.

indigenous and independent of ecclesiastical connection with, or control by, either parent Church in England or America. . . . It has served as an example and inspiration for similar unions in other mission fields."[1] This was in Fukien, and seems to have been imitated in Shanghai, where Rev. John Darroch tells of the formation of a Chinese Independent Church. "It is composed of Chinese Church members of all denominations, and aims at spreading the Gospel without recourse to the aid of foreign governments or consuls. The Tao-tai of Shanghai has issued a proclamation in favour of this body, and they have received considerable financial help from their compatriots in America." The formation of this Church has, we are told, been viewed with suspicion by some missionaries, who see in it a premature attempt to throw off the restraint of foreign control; there can be no doubt that it indicates the healthy vitality of the native Church . . . it marks the beginning of a new era in the history of missions in China, and is a significant forward step which may have far-reaching consequences. "We can therefore say, 'What hath God wrought!' and look forward with hopefulness to the future."[2]

So, Unity between East and West is to go, and it is to be regarded as the work of Jesus Christ, who prayed that they that believe might be one! It may be that another example will be followed in China, viz., "There are many learned and spiritually minded members of the Church of England," Rev. C. C. Fenn, of the Church Missionary Society, told the Centenary Conference of Protestant Missionaries of the World, in London, "who regard what they term 'Apostolical Succession' as essential to the well-being if not the being of the Church. . . . I believe the great

[1] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, 1907, ed. by D. MacGillivray, pp. 367-8.

[2] *The Chinese Empire*, 1907, ed. by Marshall Broomhall, B.A., p. 92.

majority of lay Anglicans . . . attach comparatively little importance to the fact or the theory of the so-called Apostolical Succession, and that in India they will at once set it aside if it should assume such a shape as to be an obstacle to the larger comprehension."[1]

When Unity and Apostolic Succession have been relegated to the limbo of exploded notions, the way will be clear for the doctrine that the Deposit of Faith is still incomplete, and that the Christian Churches have gone to China in search of what may remain to be learnt concerning it. This theory has already found some acceptance in China, apparently:—"Where our theology is still one-sided and incomplete, may we not look for large contributions to it in days to come from the independent thought and life in our mission fields, and may we not look forward to the attainment, as one of the ample rewards of our mission work, of the fuller and more rounded theology for which the Church has waited so long? So may come at last the healing of those divisions by which She has been torn and weakened throughout Her chequered history. When to Jewish fervour, Greek passion, Roman restraint, French argument, German depth, English breadth, Scottish intensity and American alertness are added Indian subtlety with Chinese ethical sagacity—all baptised into the one Spirit—then may we reach at last the fuller theology worthy of the worldwide hospitalities of the Kingdom of Heaven, and setting forth more nearly the very thoughts of God."[2]

[1] *Report of Centenary Conference on Protestant Missions of the World*, 1888, ed. by Rev. James Johnston, F.S.S., vol. ii., p. 477.

[2] *Mission Problems and Mission Methods in South China*, 1901, J. Campbell Gibson, M.A., D.D., p. 286.

CHAPTER II

FROM CONFUCIUS TO CONFUSION

WRITING on the "diversity of Protestant organisations, which has been already mentioned as the source of some confusion to the Chinese by reason of the lack of co-ordination in their movements and methods," Rev. A. H. Smith warns his readers that "it is important to guard against the widespread fallacy that the Chinese infer from the phenomena which they see, that Christianity is full of self-contradictions, and that its mutual claims refute one another. This, we have no hesitation in saying, is a Western idea attributed to the Chinese, as distinguished from the one which naturally occurs to the Chinese mind. They are no more surprised or offended at seeing Christianity presented in so many varying lights than they are with their own 'Eight diagram' sects, each one of which is a segment of a mystic whole, which is only completed by the sum of all its parts. It is when the various divisions of Protestants ignore or possibly antagonise one another, that the Chinese sense of unity is offended—as is our own."[1]

It is difficult to understand what else the Chinese can infer in view of the fact that, according to Dr Campbell Gibson, "it cannot be made clear to them by explanation how the Church in the West has become divided into bodies organised, some on the Episcopal, some on the Congregational, and some on

[1] *China in Convulsion*, 1901, Arthur H. Smith, vol. i., pp. 42-3.

the Presbyterian basis. Even if the distinction could be made clear to them, they have neither the knowledge of Scripture, nor the experience of Church life which would enable them to form an opinion on the respective merits of each system."[1]

"An important conference of British and American missionaries, at which I was invited to be present," says Colonel Scott Moncrieff, "was held one evening in March, 1901, to consider what steps should be taken for mutual co-operation. At the outset of the proceedings, a speech was made by one of the Americans, showing how desirable such co-operation was. They had representatives of several societies at work, all believing in substantially the same truths, actuated by the same aims, and agreeing as to methods; but they were all working independently, overlapping in some places, neglecting others. There was evidently a need for unison. They had not even agreed as to the Chinese term to be used for the name of God, and they had no books of devotion or even hymn-books which they could use in common. Another speaker humorously pointed out that such terms as 'Presbyterian,' 'Methodist,' 'Baptist,' etc., were unintelligible and bewildering to the natives, who according to their own practical fashion, invented names for the various sects according to their characteristics, calling the Baptists the 'Cold-water' Christians, the Methodists the 'Shake-hands' Christians (owing to the practice of the pastor in shaking hands with each member of his congregation after Church service), and, I think, the American Presbyterians the 'Women-talking' Christians. It was obviously most desirable that these names should be abolished, and all should be united in one body. An old Englishman then said that, however desirable all this might be, it was impracticable. The missionaries were but the agents

[1] *Mission Problems and Mission Methods in South China*, 1901, J. Campbell Gibson, M.A., D.D., p. 196.

and messengers of the Churches who sent them.' If the home organisations desired to unite, nothing could be more admirable. But as the home people supplied the money, so they had the right to dictate the policy."[1]

About the year 1858—as would seem—Rev. Dr Edkins tell us that "a young man of the artisan class . . . entering a missionary chapel, had heard an address on Christianity . . . did not attempt to refute the argument from design, nor did he acknowledge its validity. He proceeded to defend himself with weapons of another kind. 'You differ from the Roman Catholics. How can I tell whether you or they are right?' The conversation as it continued in this new channel," says the Doctor, "need not be further detailed."[2]

"To-day," we learn from Dr Rennie, in 1865, "the teacher Sue, who is a remarkably acute observant old Chinaman, asked Mr Douglas for an explanation as to how it was that the Chinese Christians residing within the Legations appeared to attend to their devotions and go to church regularly, but that he had been unable to detect any similar regard for religion among the European Christians. Mr Douglas explained to him that the Chinese Christians in Peking belonged to a sect that had places of worship established there, but that the Christians of the English Legation were of a sect that as yet had no place of public worship, and therefore their devotions were confined to their own rooms. Sue, however, could not understand how it was that, seeing the unity of both as Christians was fully admitted, such an apparently insuperable barrier should exist between them in regard to unity of devotion."[3]

Rev. William Muirhead once asked "an eminent

[1] *Eastern Missions from a Soldier's Standpoint*, 1907, Col. G. K. Scott Moncrieff, C.I.E., pp. 112-3-4.

[2] *Religion in China* (Second Edition), 1878, Joseph Edkins, D.D., p. 97.

[3] *Peking and the Pekingese*, 1865, Dr D. F. Rennie, M.D., vol. i., p. 350.

native pastor . . . if he and his associates did not think that a union of all the Christians in the neighbourhood would be a good thing? His answer was to the following effect: 'We should rejoice at it, but there must be some strange principle of separation between the foreign missionaries, keeping them apart from each other, which we neither understand nor appreciate, and until a union is effected between them we must remain as we are.'"[1]

On 1st October 1869, Sir Rutherford Alcock, British Minister in Peking, wrote to the Earl of Clarendon:— "Then as to the other fact, that these differences, sectarian and others, are noticed by the Chinese, and give them a plausible excuse for scoffing at missionaries, as teachers of error rather than of truth—and dissentient doctrines and diverse forms of worship. Why, this constitutes one of the most common charges of the *Literati* and Officials, for an example of which see a denunciatory placard posted extensively in Honan, a translation of which was published in the Shanghai papers in 1866, wherein will be found the following passage:—'Although the adherents of the religion only worship Jesus, yet being divided into the two sections of Roman Catholics and Protestants, these are continually railing at each other, so that we have no means of determining which is right and which is wrong.'"[2]

"Everywhere I see the radiance of a truth whose beauty is the same," says the Military Attaché of China in Paris, "and I seem to hear an immense choir in which all the voices of heaven and earth join harmoniously; and when, waking from the enchantment of this dream, I listen to the tumultuous clamours of a world become a chaos of beliefs, my spirit is full of amazement, and I could doubt that truth existed, but

[1] *China and the Gospel*, 1870, Rev. William Muirhead (of London Missionary Society), p. 240.

[2] Parliamentary Paper, China (9), 1870, p. 26.

that my conscience forces me to believe in spite of myself. We have no occasion to envy the West its religious beliefs, although we do not look at them from the same standpoint." [1]

"Occidentals follow one religion," Admiral P'eng Yü-lin informs his compatriots, "which in process of time became divided into three branches. England, Germany, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland follow the Jesuit Church (the author evidently confounds Jesuits with Protestants, whose name [Yeh-su Kiao] in Chinese differs but little), Italy, Austro-Hungary, Bavaria, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium follow the Roman Catholic. Asia Minor, East Europe, Russia, and Greece follow the Greek Church. These three form independent and exclusive Churches. Even in the West they have already quarrelled with each other. . . ." [2]

"When a Mongol is pressed to accept Christianity, he professes himself bewildered by the various forms of it with which he comes into contact," wrote the late Mr Gilmour. "Of old he has known the Russian Christianity of the Greek Church. Most probably he has heard or seen something of the Roman Catholic religion which has large colonies of Chinese adherents inhabiting localities either in, or bordering on, Mongolia, and now he is presented with a third form of Christianity. The Russian says his is the best form, the Roman Catholic advances as stout a claim for his system, and the Protestant not only makes a similar claim, but offers to prove that his is the best of the three." [3]

"Some years ago," Mr Archibald told the London Missionary Conference, "there was a mission manned by

[1] *The Chinese, painted by themselves*, Col. Tcheng Ki-Tong (translated from the French by James Millington), p. 19.

[2] *Indulgent Treatment of Foreigners*, written by Admiral P'eng Yü-lin and Wang Chih-chun, originally printed at Canton, date uncertain. Reprint Shanghai 1885 (translated by "A True Friend of China"), pp. 5-6.

[3] *Among the Mongols*, 1870, Rev. James Gilmour, M.A., pp. 199-200.

a brother who was a kindly, God-fearing man, and who was a great help to us all; but a change occurred. A new bishop came out who had new clergy and new views, and he made a new departure. In fact he talked about 'the sin of sectarianism' . . . the result is this —that confusion has been introduced. . . . Now what is to be done I do not know. An old missionary writes: 'Is it not pitiable that, after labouring thirty years in this land, I should find men, who I baptised in their infancy, twenty years ago, are to-day discussing the question whether I am a Minister of Christ or not?'"[1]

Of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, otherwise the "Holy Catholic Church," at Hankow, we learn from Mr Cornaby:—"Representatives have before now published tracts in Chinese, stating that we [Wesleyans] are no Church to all, and applying to all Nonconformists the strong denunciations of the Book of Jude, a length to which the Papists have never gone. . . . We should welcome the Church Missionary Society here, but these American Ritualists are not the most helpful neighbours possible."[2]

"There is no need," thinks Wen Ching, "to dilate on the absurdity of introducing into China a great number of contending sects, who not only confound the cause of Christianity, but also sow the seed of civil war between the native converts."[3]

Later he refers to the "mutual contempt in which the converts of different sects regard one another. There is no real feeling of love or charity between the worshippers of Jesus [Protestants] and the worshippers of the Lord of the Heavens [Catholics]. The enmity between the missionaries is perhaps less edifying. Meanwhile, the heathen can make neither head nor tail

[1] *Centenary Conference on Protestant Missions of the World*, 1888, ed. by Rev. James Johnston, F.S.S., vol. ii., pp. 449-50.

[2] *Rambles in Central China*, 1896, W. Arthur Cornaby, p. 11.

[3] *The Chinese Crisis from Within*, 1901, Wen Ching, p. 316.

of the peculiar intestine dissensions which rend these sects asunder."[1] And Professor Parker mentions "a certain Mr Han, introduced as a Protestant convert. . . . He always spoke respectfully of Mr Jonathan Lees, the missionary who appears to have originally taken him up; but he lost no time in asking me how it was that some Protestants were not allowed to preach in Church of England places, and that no Protestants at all believed the teaching of the Roman Catholics," and argued that as it seemed permissible for Europeans to differ, Chinamen also were at liberty to reject all.[2]

"I think I am only doing the Protestant missionaries simple justice when I state that their efforts have been attended with exceptional success, and this although it is but a short while ago since they ceased to count their converts by hundreds." Thus wrote Mr Consul Medhurst, of Shanghai, in 1872. He continues:—"Their progress might have been yet more marked, in my opinion, could they have been content to leave denominational differences at home, and could they have avoided the unhappy controversies in respect to the best rendering of the term for God, which have not only occasioned disunion amongst themselves, but have tended to confuse the minds of the natives as to the character and attributes of the Deity."[3]

"Although little is said by way of controversy on this subject," says Rev. Dr Wheeler, "and the *odium theologicum* is a thing unknown in the Protestantism of China, it cannot reasonably be doubted that the different words in the literature and in the preaching, used to signify the first and third Persons in the Trinity, have done much to confuse the native mind."[4]

In 1892, Lord Curzon found the same state of affairs:—"The missionaries have not agreed among

[1] *The Chinese Crisis from Within*, 1901, Wen Ching, pp. 317-8.
[2] *John Chinaman and a Few Others*, 1901, E .H. Parker, pp. 180-1.
[3] *The Foreigner in Far Cathay*, 1872, W. H. Medhurst, p. 39.
[4] *The Foreigner in China*, 1881, Rev. L. N. Wheeler, D.D., p. 172.

themselves as to the Chinese word to express the single Deity whom they preach . . . with the result of complete bewilderment to the native understanding, ill able to cope with the subtleties of theological logomachy." The Jesuits adopt the title *Tien Chu* (Lord of Heaven); The Americans prefer the more impalpable *Chen Shen* (True Spirit); The English adopt the Chinese *Shang-ti* (Supreme Lord)[1]—with resulting inconvenience, as "almost all versions of the Scriptures and many tracts are published in two editions. In one of these *Shangti*, in the other *Shin* is used as the term for God. In some cases a third edition is published with the term *Tien-Choo.*"[2]

"The spirit of unity maintained among the Christians in Canton," says Mr Henry, who laboured there for ten years, "is most gratifying. The sectarian differences are comparatively slight, and the distinctions are more in name than in reality. As long as the native Churches are connected ecclesiastically with home Churches those names will be kept up. The paramount importance of uniting on the main issues and of presenting a single gospel to the people has kept the missionaries from exaggerating differences of creed." It would seem that the all-absorbing "Term Question" (as this difference of nomenclature for the word "God" is called) has come to the rescue, and round it controversy has raged, "so that points of theology between Methodists and Presbyterians, Congregationalist and Baptist, have been left in the background. . . . The creed of the Church of Christ in Canton, if ever they unite in a common expression of belief, will be something which the wisest cannot yet presume to prophesy . . . the form of Church government they will adopt cannot now be determined."[3]

[1] *Problems of the Far East*, 1894, Hon. George N. Curzon, M.P., pp. 311-2.

[2] *Christian Progress in China*, 1889, Arnold Foster, B.A., p. 146.

[3] *The Cross and the Dragon*, 1884, Rev. B. C. Henry, pp. 349-50.

Writing in 1900, Mr Krausse reiterates the same story :—"The rival missionary societies in China teach religion each according to its own lights, and are not even agreed as to the Chinese equivalent for the name of the Creator! Small wonder, then, that the Celestials laugh at our attempts to reform a people who have followed the same creed for thousands of years, and who, from one end of the country to the other are taught the same dogma in identically the same terms."[1]

And the natural result appears in the matter of the "Term Question," when the logical Chinese say :—"Foreign nations have each their deities, why not we ours?"[2]

Though it would seem that the controversy still smoulders in some quarters, it may be that we shall one day see it extinguished. As far back as 1891 we learn, on the authority of Mr Alexander Michie :—"With better knowledge most of the Protestant missionaries are now unostentatiously adopting the term which was used by the early Jesuits. But what a sacrifice to mere words—'husks' as the late Dr Williamson ventured to call them, to the scandal of his missionary brethren."[3]

Of more importance appears the startling fact of difference of opinion concerning baptism thus :—After a review of the "direct part" of missionary work, Mrs Bishop continues :—"This, in brief, is the teaching of all Protestant missionaries in China, to whatever Church they belong, and with one or two exceptions, all regard baptism as an obligatory confession of faith, and as the evidence of a complete break with the beliefs and practices of heathenism."[4]

[1] *The Far East, its History and its Question*, 1900, Alexis Krausse, p. 211.

[2] *Through the Yang-tse Gorges*, 1898 (Second Edition), Archibald John Little, pp. 155-6.

[3] *Missionaries in China*, 1891, Alexander Michie, p. 49.

[4] *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 1899, Mrs J. F. Bishop, F.R.G.S., p. 520.

Mr Stanley Smith desires "large discretionary powers" for missionaries in the exercise of which, "Baptism and the Supper of the Lord" are not "to bulk more largely in their teaching than the few places in which these ordinances are mentioned in Scripture would allow," and above all things, in not using "these simple rites as a stepping-stone to gain ascendancy over their fellow Christians by an imagined superiority which they assume to possess owing to some mystical powers supposed to attach to their ministerial office."[1]

"The missionary has constantly to guard his converts," so Rev. J. Miller Graham gives us to understand, "against the tendency to set a too high value on the efficacy of rites like Baptism and the Lord's Supper. I have heard of a newly baptised convert who immediately after his initiation seized the font of water with trembling hands and drank it off; he doubtless believed that the water possessed some magical virtue that would cleanse him of his sins."[2]

Hence in 1887, Mr Archibald Little could not "but agree with Père Amand David, who doubts if China will ever be Christianised, especially now that innumerable different sects of Protestantism from Europe and America have entered the field, and rendered confusion worse confounded to the naturally sceptical Chinese mind."[3]

In the conclusion of the paper previously referred to, read by him at Chefoo, the late Dr Williamson said:— "Let no man scoff at our divisions. They are the result of life and vigour and the accident of imperfect knowledge. There is far more harmony and unity of

[1] *China from Within*, 1901, Stanley P. Smith, B.A. (formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge; and China Inland Mission), pp. 209-10.

[2] *East of the Barrier*, 1902, Rev. J. Miller Graham, p. 73.

[3] *Through the Yang-tse Gorges*, 1898 (Second Edition), Archibald John Little, F.R.G.S., p. 155.

system and feeling among us than the Romanists or any other religionists. We are all agreed on 'essentials.' . . . I do not even condemn sects. . . . They were a necessity of the time. But, as these times pass and circumstances alter, the need for them also passes away. Why should we perpetuate them? Above all, why should we introduce sects into China?[1] . . . Something must be done. In our present divided state we shall never Christianise China."[2]

However, in 1891, Mr Michie could say that:— "Signs are, however, beginning to be observed of both individuals and societies becoming alive to the serious evils of the schismatical spirit," *e.g.*, the periodical conferences at Shanghai . . . "some of the more progressive missionaries . . . throwing over the traditions of their fathers, have declared openly for episcopacy as the true and scriptural form of Church government."[3]

Among these signs we may quote from a paper read at the Missionary Conference in London three years before—once more by Rev. Dr Williamson—in which we find the following:—"Worst of all, we do the Chinese great injustice in keeping them isolated from each other. We create controversies and bickerings. We deaden their Christian instincts. We positively retard vital religion among the native converts. . . . They say plainly: 'It is you foreigners that keep us apart.' . . . 'We have thought the matter over, we are prepared for union,' said a leading native pastor to a friend of mine. 'It is you foreign missionaries who keep us separated. You are to blame.' My friend asked, 'What about baptism?' 'We have considered that too,' he replied, 'we will immerse those who prefer it, and baptise by effusion those who prefer that form.' So it is then for the most part, they can see no

[1] *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, Feb. 1889, pp. 72-3.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 80.
[3] *Missionaries in China*, 1891, Alexander Michie, pp. 91-2.

force in our differences. They feel its evil effects, and had they the power they would unite."[1]

At the Missionary Conference held in Shanghai in 1890, Rev. Y. J. Allen laid it down that in view of the changed aspect of China, the first obligation imposed was that of unity. "And now it would seem," said the reverend gentleman, "the time is at hand, when the Christian missionaries should as one man rise to the dignity of the situation, the level of Christ's standpoint when He prayed for the unity of His disciples and the unity of their converts, to the end that they might all be one, and that the world might have this supreme evidence of His mission from God the Father."[2]

Rev. Dr Nevius said that "the question of introducing into China the differences and dissensions of the Churches of the West confronts us, and it is for us to consider solemnly whether this is the work, or any part of the work, to which the Master has called us." Defending denominationalism in the past, as an experimental stage, necessary for the settlement of questions of doctrine and policy, Dr Nevius asked if it had not continued long enough, and whether it would not be possible to select and combine the excellences of all. "Our responsibility in this matter we cannot evade or relegate to our successors. . . . It is largely for us to determine whether the Church of the future shall be a divided Church, or the Church for which Christ prayed, presenting in her unity the proof of Her divine commission, securing through obedience the presence of her divine Lord, going forth to the spritual conquest of the world, 'fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.'"[3]

Rev. John McCarthy, of the China Inland Mission,

[1] *Record of Centenary Conference on Protestant Missions of the World*, 1888, vol. ii., p. 462.

[2] *Records of General Conference of Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai*, 1890, pp. 20-1.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 176-7.

in a paper on "Co-operation," said that if Christianity was one, and they came to China to make this known, it was of the first importance "that the truth should be *illustrated* as well as preached, and that the effects of the Gospel should be shown forth in a tangible form that will strike the heathen mind. Nothing could do this more clearly than a manifestation of the power of the living God in controlling by His Spirit, and guiding to unity of action, hearts, whose plans would naturally be so diverse." The "oft-used Sunday school oration illustration, which represents the various distinct missions as so many 'regiments of one great army,' all having 'the one grand aim in view,' and fighting under 'the one old flag,'" he stigmatised as untruthful, tending to "throw dust in the eyes, and prevent us from seeing the great blunder that is perpetrated and perpetuated." Comparing the management on earth of spiritual and temporal armies, the children of this world were wiser, for "they would never adopt our methods." They were all familiar with the fact that an imitation of this united action had often been attempted; and they knew, too, "how inadequate all mere outward rules and regulations are to maintain a unity of action, which can only really be of any avail when it is the spontaneous outcome of the same life dwelling in the various members of the one body." Christ's prayer for union had been too long neglected. To relegate united action to millennial times, or to the eternal state, was to fail to grasp the Saviour's purpose. "The testimony is required *now*," said the reverend gentleman.

As to the excuse for the present state of things, that "the *mystical* body of Christ is composed of all those who are His, from the various branches of the Church militant and those in glory," he asked:—"Will anyone say that our Blessed Lord prayed that the world might *see* His *mystical* body?" No—inconvenient as the conclusion might be to most of them—it was a sorrowful fact that the preached Gospel still lacked the

strongest credentials that Christ Himself had to bestow for commending it to the attention of the world. Christians lost much themselves, but the *world was being lost* because of the want of united action on their part. If, instead of making excuses for failure, or insisting on the perpetuation of what could not in the least be considered God-given arrangements, the Lord's people would recognise the evil of separation, and humbling themselves before God, would seek from Him the mighty working of His Spirit, it could not be long before His approval would be manifested, and even united Church action be found not so impracticable as it seemed then. "If the fathers in the Churches, 'filled with the knowledge of His will,' were bent on doing that will at *all* costs, whatever the immediate results might be, one could only expect that the purpose and prayer of the Saviour would be soon fulfilled; all would be one, and great blessing would come to our sin-cursed earth as the result."

"I grant," continued Mr McCarthy, "that it does seem rather out of place for us here to be considering the question of co-operation at all. As a matter of fact, if all the missionaries in China were fully convinced of the value and importance of united action, for the most part their connection with home Churches would altogether prevent any practical step towards closer union or united effort; and one fails to see how it can be otherwise, while missionaries represent denominational and even political differences to the Chinese, instead of only representing the Christ of God."[1]

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, pp. 594-6.

CHAPTER III

"UNUM IN CHRISTO"

UNDER the above motto sat the Chairman who presided over the China Centenary Missionary Conference, which met at Shanghai from 25th April to 7th May of the year 1907. This Conference included Protestant missionaries from every part of China, as well as visitors from Great Britain and elsewhere, to the number of 1170. Of these, 122 were *ex officio* members, 354 missionary delegates, and the visitors accounted for the remaining 694. The proceedings were reprinted from the *North China Daily News* in a volume of some 53 foolscap pages, the Editor of which remarks that:— "It is probable that the Conference will go down to history as commensurate in importance with the great Councils of the Church in the West."[1]

Previous to the Conference, the Anglican Clergy, the Medical missionaries, the Baptists, and the Presbyterian Council of Federation had held meetings; and on Thursday, 25th April, an Inaugural Reception was held in the Town Hall, at which "fully 1500 people were present," representing 83 different societies or agencies working in China, "with varying organisations behind, but united in the endeavour to bring Christian enlightenment to the people of this country."[2]

On the afternoon of the same day, there was also a Preliminary Business Meeting, at which addresses

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907. Reprint from *North China Daily News*, Editor's Note. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

were made, Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen elected, Rules of Procedure adopted, etc.

The first session of the Conference was held on Friday, 26th April, in the Martyrs' Memorial Hall of the new Chinese Y.M.C.A., Dr Arthur Smith in the chair.

The missionaries of South China presented the Chairman with a presidential hammer, made of wood cut from a tree overshadowing the grave of Robert Morrison at Macao. Dr Arthur Smith, in accepting, hoped that there would be as much unanimity in this Conference as there was apparently in the missionary body in 1807. (Laughter and applause.)[1]

Dr J. C. Gibson (E. P. M., Swatow) presented the Report of the Committee on the Chinese Church and Resolutions. In his address, he said that:—"Resolutions II. to VII. dealt with the subject foremost in all their hearts. . . . Omitting general societies like the Bible Societies, there were some fifty mission bodies at work, and till lately at least, they had been planting fifty Chinese Churches. The Committee was sure the Conference would say with one heart, 'This in future shall not be.' Their divisions bulked largely in the public eye. They were pointed to by writers of the Roman Church. They disturbed the minds of the Chinese Churches, though to a less extent than was often alleged. . . . The Committee asked them, therefore, to begin the Conference with a frank and earnest declaration in the eyes of the world that they were one." . . . He regretted that the Baptist Church was not represented on the Committee, and had endeavoured to correct this by conferring, and "the Committee hoped to keep their language within bounds, that all might agree, but there were some things that were not satisfactory to some of the Baptist brethren." The Committee hoped to attain unity by sending back the wording to which objection was taken. . . . He believed difficulty in the minds of the natives arose, not from the

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 5.

work of the different missions, but of explaining to them what the differences were. "Beyond distinguishing that Protestants were one mission, and there was also a French Mission, the Chinese Church did not know any difference. It was imperative that they should stand apart from the Church of Rome. (Hear, hear.)" In concluding, the reverend speaker made an eloquent appeal for unity in the mission-field.

The summary of his paper—which was taken as read—commences:—"The great achievement of the first century of Protestant Missions in China has been the planting of the Christian Church."[1]

Resolution I.—entirely devotional in character—was then submitted. Dr Graves (Am. S. Bapt., Canton) moved to refer the Resolution back to the Committee, some of whom should be Baptists. . . . "They agreed as to fundamentals, but let them not touch a stone wall with untempered mortar. Let them have such a wall as would commend itself to all."

After some discussion—the Resolution was put, and declared unanimously adopted, whereupon Rev. R. E. Chambers (Am. S. Bapt., Canton)—"I beg to state that the Resolution was not unanimously adopted."[2]

Resolution II. was next introduced:—"Whereas, it is frequently asserted that Protestant Missions present a divided front to those outside, and create confusion by a large variety of inconsistent teaching; and whereas, the minds both of Christian and non-Christian Chinese are in danger of being thus misled into an exaggerated estimate of our differences, this Centenary Conference, representing all Protestant missions at present working in China, unanimously and cordially declares:—

'That, unanimously holding the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the supreme standard of faith and practice, and holding firmly the primitive

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Catholic faith summarised in the Apostles' Creed and sufficiently stated in the Nicene Creed; and in view of our knowledge of each other's doctrinal symbols, history, work, and character, we gladly recognise ourselves as already one body, teaching one way of eternal life, and calling men into one holy fellowship; and as one in our teaching as to the love of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; in our testimony as to sin and salvation, and our homage to the Divine and Holy Redeemer of men; one in our call to the purity of the Christian life, and in our witness to the splendours of the Christian hope.

'We frankly recognise that we differ as to methods of administration and Church government; that some among us differ from others as to the administration of Baptism; and that there are some differences as to the statement of the doctrine of Predestination or the election of Grace.

'But we unite in holding that these exceptions do not invalidate the assertion of our real unity in our common witness to the Gospel of the grace of God.'"[1]

In the discussion which ensued, Dr Martin proposed to omit the references to the Creeds; to add to the part ending "already one body" the words "in spirit and aim"; and to delete the statement of differences as to Baptism, etc.

Rev. D. E. Hoste objected to omit the references to the Creeds.

Bishop Cassels proposed consideration by paragraphs, which was agreed to, and the first paragraph carried unanimously.

Rev. C. G. McDaniel (Am. S. Bapt., Soochow) wished to delete reference to Creeds.

Bishop Roots believed no fault could be found with the Creeds, if they were considered sentence by sentence. They formed something definite to build upon, and yet ought not to cause difficulty to any Christian conscience.

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 8.

Dr H. C. Du Bose (A.P.M., Soochow) said that the word "unanimously" in "unanimously holding the Scriptures," presented a great difficulty. A single objector might hold up the Conference.

A general discussion ensued, in which Nonconformists emphasised the basing of their faith on the Scriptures and not on any Creed.[1]

Rev. W. Nelson Bitton (L.M.S., Shanghai) remarked that the Conference had come together to consider bases of unity, but individual members were successively voicing their own idiosyncrasies. He protested against an attempt to force the *imprimatur* of any Western Church on to the Creed of a new Eastern Church, which should be left to formulate its own Creed in its own time.

An attempt having been made to close the discussion, Bishop Graves said the astounding statement had been made that there were statements in the Apostles' Creed which could not be accepted. While discussing unity at the beginning of their Conference they had got on dangerous ground. The Anglican Church had yielded much that it held dear, but if the references to the primitive Catholic Faith and the Creeds were omitted, they could not join in these Resolutions. The Conference could not forge any more harmful weapon to place in the hands of the Roman Church than the slightest weakness whatever in expressing its belief in that primitive Catholic Faith. Rev. T. W. Pearce pleaded for more of the spirit of the Founder of Missions in the consideration of these Resolutions; and the Conference shortly afterwards adjourned.

At the afternoon sitting, Dr Bryan proposed the second paragraph should read :—"That this Conference unanimously holds the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the supreme standard of faith and practice, and holds firmly the primitive Apostolic

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 6.

Faith; further, while acknowledging the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed as substantially expressing the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith, the Conference does not adopt any Creed as a basis of Church unity; yet, in view of our knowledge of, etc. . . ."

Bishop Roots approved, and suggested the addition of the words, "and leaves confessional questions to the judgment of the Chinese Church for future consideration," after the words "basis of Church unity."

"Dr Bryan's proposal with the addition proposed by Bishop Roots was thereupon put to the meeting and carried almost unanimously. The result was received by the meeting with unbounded enthusiasm, and, as one man, all present rose to their feet and joined in singing the Doxology."[1]

Resolution III. was next dealt with:—"That in planting anew the Church of Christ on Chinese soil, we desire to plant one Holy Catholic Church under the sole control of the Lord Jesus Christ, governed by the Word of the Living God, and led by His guiding Spirit. While freely communicating to this Church the knowledge of truth, and the rich historical experience to which older Churches have attained, we fully recognise the liberty in Christ of the Chinese Church planted by means of the Missions and Churches which we represent; and we desire to commit it in faith and hope to the continued safe-keeping of its Lord, when the time shall arrive, which we eagerly anticipate, when it shall pass beyond our guidance and control."[2]

Dr Gibson proposed to substitute "Apostolic" for "Catholic."

Dr Wherry (A.P.M., Peking) wished to omit the word "anew," to which Rev. Arnold Foster objected, as the omission would be tantamount to saying that the Conference did not regard the Nestorians as Christians.

The word "anew" was deleted.

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Mr Harmon (E.B.M., Choutsun) desired to retain the word "Catholic."

Rev. J. B. Ost suggested "Catholic and Apostolic."

Mr Endicott (Can. Meth., Chêngtu) thought "Christian Church" would serve the purpose.

Dr Sheffield (Tungchou) advocated "Catholic."

Rev. R. J. Ware (Shanghai) desired "Holy Catholic" to be omitted, and was supported by Rev. R. Chambers (Canton). The amendment to delete "Holy Catholic" was carried.[1]

On a motion to strike out the whole of the second sentence, Mr Hoste (C.I.M.) thought it advisable to qualify the general statement of the inherent right of liberty. Their right to liberty must depend on their ability to exercise that right.

Mr Clayton (Wusueh) was not prepared to accept the final sentence until he heard what his Home Board had to say.

Bishop Bashford greatly deprecated any attempt of Chinese to organise a Church confined to the Chinese Empire. Churches should be world-wide and not national.

Dr Lewis (M.E.M., Nanking) contended that a Church among 400,000,000 people could not be expected to be controlled from other countries, and that perfect liberty was inherent in the Church wherever established.

The motion to strike out the second sentence was lost.

It was agreed to add after the words "which we represent," the words "in so far as these Churches are by maturity of Christian character and experience fitted to exercise it"; and also to substitute "Churches in China" for "Chinese Church," and thus amended. Resolution III. was carried.[2] In Resolution IV., the Conference undertook to submit to the Home Churches which had sent them to China: (*a*) That they should

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

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sanction "the recognition by their missionaries of the right of the Chinese Churches to organise themselves as independent Churches, in accordance with their own views of truth and duty, suitable arrangements being made for due representation of the missionaries on their governing bodies, until these Churches shall be in a position to assume full responsibilities of self-support and self-government."

Adopted, after "Chinese Churches" had been altered to "Churches in China," and the words "as independent Churches" struck out.[1]

(*b*) "That they should carefully abstain from claiming any permanent right of spiritual or administrative control over these Chinese Churches." (As adopted, "Chinese" was omitted.)[2]

Bishop Bashford, having moved to add to (*b*) the words, "but that we desire their continuity united in co-ordinated authority with those branches of the Christian Church throughout the world with which they find themselves most fully in harmony in faith and practice," and the amendment having been lost, asked what they expected the home Churches to say when the Conference voted recommending the native Churches to break away from them?"[3]

Resolution V.—thankful for the declaration of our "essential unity," desires to see it carried into effect by union of the Churches "of the same ecclesiastical order," without regard to nationality, etc., of the parent mission.[4]

Resolution VI. rejoices to know that various sections have already taken steps in this direction; and appoints a Committee to act for the Conference in furthering the object, also sub-Committees.

Resolution VII. hopes these sub-Committees will unite with each other "in the closest practicable bonds of Christian fellowship."

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 8.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 8. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 8. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

Resolutions VIII. and IX. deal with various matters; and Resolution X. requests the delegates to communicate the Resolutions to their home Churches.[1]

On Sunday, 5th May, Rev. Lord William Cecil preached at Holy Trinity Cathedral, Shanghai. Taking for his text the words: "That they all may be one," he delivered an earnest appeal for a wider toleration in religious opinion than had been advocated even at the Conference. He looked for the time when the Anglican Church would heal its breaches, not only with the Nonconformist bodies, but with the Greek and Roman Communions; and he pleaded for a more patient attempt to understand the position of those two great Churches, and urged that the fact that the quarrel with Rome was four hundred years old was a reason why there should be a reconciliation if possible. Humility, love, and faith were the three necessary foundation stones on which to build up anew the one Church, catholic and universal.[2]

The ninth session of the Conference met on 6th May to consider the question of Comity and Federation.

The Chairman (Dr A. Smith) having appealed to the members of the Conference not to say anything they would afterwards regret:—

Dr W. S. Ament, in introducing the Resolutions, remarked that few large Conferences had ever shown such a spirit of unanimity. Certain omissions would be noticed. The word Protestant was not used. Members of the Greek and Latin Churches who came Bible in hand and in faith in Christ would not be turned away. Nor were the words Nonconformist or Dissenter used, neither was mention made of any creed, or the proposals of the Peking Committee of Union.[3]

1. "Resolved: that this Conference recommends

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 9.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 40. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

the formation of a Federal Union under the title, The China Christian Federation." (Subsequently amended to "Christian Confederation of China.")[1]

Dr H. Corbett (Chefoo), who seconded, mentioned the progress towards union in America. The eyes of the world were, he said, on this Conference. Other members having spoken, the Resolution was adopted by a large majority amid loud applause.

Before the applause had subsided Dr Farnham rose, and denounced the passing of this Resolution as a Jesuitical scheme from the beginning.

Bishop Roots moved that the Resolution be reconsidered, which having been agreed to, Dr Farnham then said that he was heartily in favour of union, as he believed all present were. . . . What had been discussed was one thing; what had been accomplished was another. With but little consideration the Conference passed within the gate so alluringly opened by Dr Ament much as a flock of sheep being led to the slaughter. (No! No!) When they had once passed through they would have handcuffs put on, and their feet would be fettered. (Loud murmurs of dissent.) The Resolution would certainly not be carried unanimously, if he was the only one who dissented from it. When he spoke against unity at the first session his remarks were not reported. He had moved that the Resolution on unity be stricken out. That motion was not noticed. It was planned from the beginning that the scheme for union should go through. It was sprung upon them. (No! No! Cries for the question.) Dr Ament had given them a chance to read behind the Resolutions. He had alluded to Dr Cochrane, who had undertaken openly what was now being undertaken underhandedly. (Loud expressions of dissent.)[2]

Dr Garrett's proposal that speakers on these Resolu-

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 43.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

tions be limited to three minutes having been carried, Bishop Roots, who was loudly applauded, thought they had arrived at the point where they needed to pause for a moment and consider before they took irrevocable action. He was sure they met in the spirit pleaded for by their Chairman. They were conscious of their responsibilities, and determined that, by the grace of God, they would not revile one another. (Loud applause.) It was manifestly the desire of this Conference that they should deal fairly with one another. (Applause.) If they once harboured in their thoughts the notion that anyone was dealing with anyone else in a Jesuitical manner they were lost. (Applause.) He therefore pleaded that before this first Resolution was passed, those who did not agree with it should be allowed to state their reasons. They would find the Conference reasonable enough. (Applause.)

Rev. Evan Morgan asked for definitions of terms. What was meant by Federation and Comity? by free and elastic federation? by saying that in local Councils everyone could say just what he liked; everyone could do what he liked? He moved an amendment recommending consideration of advisability of forming local Councils.

Rev. A. L. Warnshuis (American Dutch Ref.) moved a substitute resolution urging local union "with similar organisations in the same province or locality."

Rev. W. N. Bitton (L.M.S., Shanghai) pointed out that if the last amendment was accepted, the whole idea of the Conference was done away with, and the whole idea of the Christian Church went for nothing.

Dr R. T. Bryan suggested that the Resolutions be discussed as a whole.

Dr Ohlinger said the union they had had for fifty years in Foochow was all he wished to see. He thought they should avoid talking about Christian

Union, as they had refused to recognise "a Church which was organised yesterday, and to-day counts two members," simply because it was small. (Shouts of "explain" and "name.") He was heartily in favour of toning down the Christian dividing lines, but where the spirit of union existed, these lines interfered with the work as much as the lines of latitude and longitude did with navigation.[1]

Rev. John Archibald (N.B.S., Scot., Hankow) spoke of various unions, societies, etc., started in Hankow, and of their accomplishing little. He did not know how to vote, because he was not sure how this scheme would work. He was very much afraid that in this Conference they had piled up Resolutions and Committees, so that the leading men would have nothing else to do but sit on Committees all their days.

Dr J. Lowrie moved that the Conference suspend all rules, and consider the whole subject in three-minute speeches until 3 P.M.

This was carried.

Rev. D. E. Hoste (C.I.M., Shanghai) thought that all should agree that the essence of Federation for a long time to come would be found in local missionaries cultivating brotherly intercourse, and seeking occasions when they could get to know and help each other. It was most important at the present time to give expression to the unanimous general longing that they should have of exchanging general thought, without binding each other. The Councils, whether national or provincial, had no executive power.

Dr Gilbert Reid said he had been in favour of organic union, but he had come to realise that that was well-nigh impossible, therefore if they could not have union, then let them take something else which was a preliminary, and might be helpful and lead up to that high ideal.[2]

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 41.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Rev. E. J. Cooper (C.I.M., Hungtung) was of opinion that there was no difficulty in forming a federation, but conceived that there would be difficulties when they got down to local Churches. He asked for sympathy and determination to overcome them.

Rev. H. V. Noyes (A.P.M., Canton) moved to strike out in Resolution II., the reference to "a United Christian Church in China," and in Resolution VII. that to "one Christian Church for China." It was for the Chinese Church itself to say whether there should be one Church in China.

After some further discussion, Dr Gibson moved that the vote to debate till 3 o'clock be reconsidered, which having been carried, he then moved that the vote on Resolution I. be taken at 11.55 A.M. This was also carried.

Rev. E. Thomson (C.M.S., Taichow) appealed to the Conference to "be careful."[1]

Eventually, Rev. S. Couling (Eng. B. M., Weihsein) said that he voted against this Resolution I., because he represented many missionaries, who were not at that Conference, who felt that this matter had been very much rushed. He did not say it had been rushed in the Conference (No! No!). It had been called a popular stampede for union. He objected to stampedes. He was also against it, because the whole thing was altogether too mechanical. It was the natural growth that they should follow. If the *perfervidum ingenium* had been the Chinese instead of the foreigner, it would have been better. In conclusion, he remarked that too many resolutions had gone out to the world, as being unanimously carried, because quite a respectable portion of members of the Conference had been too timid to vote against them.

Resolution I. was then put and carried, less than a dozen hands being raised against it.[2]

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 42.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

At the afternoon session Resolution II. was brought up for consideration:—"That the objects of this Federation shall be to foster and encourage the sentiment and practice of union, to organise union effort whenever and wherever possible, and to work for the ultimate accomplishment of our ideal—a United Christian Church in China."[1]

Bishop Roots, who seconded, remarked that the Resolution did not state how federation in China was to be accomplished, but rather set the ideal before them; in striving for which, they had no adjustment of creeds or Church government in view. The federation proposed would help them to prosecute that work which could be better done by union. He desired liberty that would shackle no man's conscience, and the union that brought strength.

Dr Mateer proposed, as an amendment which would ensure a unanimous vote, to strike out the words after "wherever possible," in order to insert in their stead "and, in general, to seek through all such effort to hasten the ultimate establishment of the Kingdom of God in China."

And, thus amended, Resolution II. was carried.[2]

The remaining six Resolutions dealt with the organisation of the Federation, and, with more or less amendment, were adopted. In Resolution VII., the concluding sentence of clause (*a*) which, as originally proposed, read "for the furtherance of the ideal of one Christian Church for China," was amended to read "for the furtherance of Christian Unity."[3]

The concluding session of the Conference was held on 7th May. A Resolution of thanks to the Municipal Council for the loan of the Town Hall; to the Secretaries and Officers of the Y.M.C.A. for their work in connection with the finishing of the Martyrs' Memorial Hall; to Rev. J. A. Heale for preparing

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 43.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 42. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

the list of delegates; to the ladies, gentlemen, and ushers who had assisted in the work of the Conference; to Rev. N. Bitton, the Organist and Choir of Union Church; the Dean and Organist of the Cathedral, the Dean and Mr Darwent (for the concert they had got up); to the steamship companies for special terms; to the Chinese Postal Authorities; to the Shanghai Press for its liberal notices of, and friendship to, the Conference; to the visitors and representatives from home Churches; to the Commercial Press and the International Institute; the Laymen's movement representatives; the Chairmen and Secretaries of the Conference; to the generous hosts of Shanghai; and to Almighty God for His mercy and guidance throughout their deliberations; was adopted, after the suggestion of Mr Watson (Changsha), that it should be broken up into separate resolutions, as he objected to giving a vote of thanks to the steamship companies, etc., and to the Almighty in the same paragraph, had been agreed to.

The Conference then adjourned, after prayer by Dr Arthur Smith and the singing of the Doxology.[1]

[1] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 47.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRANSLATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

Among the "emphatic lessons" taught by the "whole experience of the [nineteenth] century," Mr Pierson notes the following two:—

"1. God has set special honour upon his own Gospel. Where it has been most simply and purely preached, the largest fruits have ultimately followed. 2. The translation, publication, and public and private reading of the Scriptures have been particularly owned by the Spirit."[1] The study of Holy Scripture seems, moreover, to have been officially recommended in China by no less a personage than the American Minister in Peking who, defending his missionary compatriots against the aspersions of the Missionary Circular of 1871, desired that the Prince of Kung and his colleagues in the *Tsungli Yamên* "would look into the Holy Scriptures, where may be found those principles and doctrines, under whose influence foreign countries have become great and powerful."[2]

Mr Broomhall tells us that "in nothing are the Protestant missions more distinguished from the Roman Catholic missions than in the endeavour to give the Word of God to the peoples of the earth in their own languages. The desire of every Protestant missionary is that the miracle of Pentecost may be repeated, not

[1] *The Modern Missionary Century*, 1901, Arthur T. Pierson, p. 293.

[2] *China and Religion*, 1905, Professor Edward Harper Parker, p. 223.

only in the Word of Life being preached, but also printed, so that every man may both hear and read it in his mother tongue."[1]

That the Catholic Church is, and always has been, much more guarded in the distribution of the sacred Scriptures, and has never sought to convert the heathen in the first instance by them may readily be granted. And one of Her reasons for such reticence was stated on his own behalf by the late Dr Duff—a Protestant missionary in China—as far back as 1859:—"We cannot be too earnest in reminding our Christian friends and supporters at home that the distribution of the Scriptures in the first instance is not the means for evangelising the heathen which, either the Word of God, Apostolic usage, or the experience of modern missionaries does at all commend. No! the voice, the living voice pouring forth God's truths in articulate utterance from a glowing regenerate heart is the real ploughshare for turning up the roughened surface of a rampant heathenism, and preparing a new soil for the ready reception of the written word."[2]

Another reason will be abundantly plain later why She has never distributed the Scriptures broadcast. At present all that need be said of the Bible, as far as the Catholic Church is concerned, is that its translation into Chinese seems to have commenced with Her entry into China. Thus we learn on the authority of Mr Kesson, that there are two letters of Father John de Monte Corvino—the first Catholic missionary in China, about the year 1300—still extant, one of which says:—"I am now become old and grey, more through toil and labour than through age, since I am only 58 years. I know the Tartar language and letters sufficiently, and have already translated into it the New Testament and Psalms, which I had then copied over in their fairest

[1] *The Chinese Empire*, 1907, Marshall Broomhall, B.A., p. 371.

[2] *Glimpses of Missionary Work in China*, 1860, in section by C. Douglas, p. 63.

characters."[1] In 1696, as we learn from Mr Alexander Wylie, Dr J. F. Gemelli-Careri mentions translation of the works of St Thomas, and also the Holy Scriptures. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the New Testament in Chinese was in use in Father Ripa's Chinese College at Naples. Morrison was "distinctly told by missionaries and converts of the Church of Rome, that the Old and New Testaments had been translated, and were in use among the Christians in Peking, and from one of the body he procured a translation of the Gospels, made by a missionary early in the century. In the British Museum a MS. volume in Chinese, containing a Harmony of the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and all the Epistles of St Paul excepting that to the Hebrews, of which there is only the first chapter," is to be found.[2] Of this volume Dr Campbell Gibson informs us that "It is interesting to note that the first of these versions known to us was made though not printed by some unknown Catholic missionary, at least as early as the seventeenth century. A copy of the work, made in Canton, was presented by a British merchant to Sir Hans Sloane, and afterwards deposited in the British Museum. There it attracted the attention of Robert Morrison on his appointment in 1807, as the first Protestant missionary to China. He began by making a copy of it with his own hands, and afterwards procured the assistance of a Chinaman whom he found in London. This transcript he carried with him to Canton, and used as the basis of his work in beginning to translate the New Testament."[3]

We now have to follow the history of the Protestant translations as summarised by Mr Marshall Broomhall. It appears that the Bible has been rendered into no less

[1] *The Cross and the Dragon*, 1854, John Kesson, p. 78.

[2] *Chinese Researches*, 1897, Alexander Wylie, pp. 95-6.

[3] *Mission Problems and Mission Methods in S. China*, 1901, J. Campbell Gibson, M.A., D.D., p. 207.

than 27 versions to suit the different dialects of China —24 of which belong to "China proper." We will first take the High *Wen-li* versions. High *Wen-li*, it may be explained, is the Chinese classical language, not spoken, but understood by all *literati;* and forms the only style allowed in examinations.

Morrison, with the aid of the New Testament from the British Museum, completed the New Testament in 1814. At the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, he presented his Bible, towards which the Society had given £10,000, in addition to what they had given to Marshman. At the annual meeting of the same Society, in May 1823, Mr John Marshman presented a complete copy of the Bible in Chinese, all printed with movable type. This had been made at Serampore.

Dr Medhurst revised the New Testament, and it was lithographed in Bavaria in 1837. Dr Gutzlaff did the same for the Old Testament; and this version was the one republished by the Taiping rebels in 1853. Gutzlaff's version ran through ten editions.

In 1843, a meeting of British and American missionaries decided to revise the New Testament again. And now the "Term" controversy broke out, the issue of which was "that the words 'God' and 'Spirit' were left untranslated, and the four Gospels were printed at Shanghai in 1850, and the whole New Testament in 1852."[1] Of this revision Dr Wells Williams supplies the following details: "The greatest harmony existed at this meeting, and the books of the New Testament were distributed among the missionaries of the several stations without regard to denomination. Some discussion arose as to the best word for *baptism*, for all agreed that it could not well be transliterated. The question was referred to a committee, which, finding itself unable to agree upon a term, recommended that in the proposed version this word

[1] *The Chinese Empire*, 1907, Marshall Broomhall, B.A., p. 381.

should be left for each party to adopt which it liked. The term *si li*, which had been in use to denote this rite since the days of Ricci, by Romanists of all opinions, had been taken by Morrison and Medhurst, and by those associated with them. Marshman preferred another word, *tsan*, which was so unusual that it would almost always require explanation; and in fact could only be fully explained by the ceremony itself. Some of the American Baptist missionaries have taken Marshman's term, and others have proposed a third one, *yuh*. Their joint action with their brethren in regard to a common version was afterward repudiated by the societies in the United States, which directed them to prepare separate translations."[1]

Upon the Old Testament, a division resulted in two separate versions. That of the London Missionary Society was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1854; and in the following year the whole version known as the "Delegates'" version was issued. The other was published by the American Bible Society (N.T. 1859, O.T. 1862-3), the word *Shen* being used for God, and *Sheng-ling* for Spirit.[2]

Concerning the Delegates' version, Rev. Dr Gibson remarked:—"There was then no Christian Church in China, and the thought always present to a translator's mind was, necessarily and rightly, how to make the great facts of Christianity, and the broader outlines of Christian thought most accessible to a non-Christian reader. To disarm prejudice and bespeak a favourable hearing, it was necessary further to cultivate refinement of style, and the peculiarities of Christian teaching were sometimes sacrificed to the requirements of elegant style or of familiar idiom. It is to this happy meeting of these requirements that the 'Delegates'' version owes its wide popularity among us. Its style, from the

[1] *The Middle Kingdom* (revised edition), 1883, S. Wells Williams, LL.D., vol. ii., pp. 363-4.

[2] *The Chinese Empire*, p. 382.

Chinese point of view, is faultless, its narrative portions are clear and pleasant to read; the Psalms and the Prophecies are appropriately rendered, if not accurately translated, in the measured and elegant rhythm which lends itself naturally to the expression of poetical thought; while the profounder discussions of the Epistles are rendered with a general faithfulness which yet retains a Chinese cast of expression, and avoids embarrassing an uninstructed reader with the subtler profundities of Christian theology and ethics. These are high merits, and have rendered this version a valuable instrument for the evangelisation of China. In it we have a version which can stand on its own merits as a work of scholarship, and one is not afraid to put it into the hands of the most prejudiced.

"But for the *second* purpose of a translation [to supply Christian readers with as faithful a text as can possibly be given] these high excellences assume a different aspect, and some of them become positive defects.

"On the one hand, the style of this version, though admirable for good scholars, is too high for even the more educated part of the membership of the Church. On the other, its renderings, though faithful to the main lines of Christian teaching, are not so minutely exact as to lend themselves to detailed exegetical and expository treatment in the hands of Christian students and preachers.

"These are grave defects, not reflecting any discredit on the original translators, who had a different object in view, but grave enough to justify and explain the widespread feeling now arising [1890] that for the use of the Christian Church a better translation is now required, one at once more simple and more exact."[1]

"A missionary says that he is an enthusiastic admirer of the Delegates' version, and yet feels compelled to confess that its circulation is a waste of time,

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, pp. 62-3.

labour, and money. Speaking of Fuh-Kien, he says :— 'In a province like this, where not 1 per cent. of the population can make any intelligent use of a book in *Wen-li*, the high style of the Delegates' version is absolutely beyond the literary powers of the minority of the 1 per cent.'"[1]

In 1872, a committee was appointed "to conserve the text of the Delegates' version."[2]

In 1839, the Baptists, who had used Marshman's version, commenced a new one, of which the whole was completed in 1868.

At the General Missionary Conference of 1890 it was decided to publish a Union version in High *Wen-li*. The translators were, two from the London Missionary Society ; two from the American Board and American Presbyterian ; and one Basel missionary. "It was thus hoped to obtain a version equally acceptable to all, and expenses were to be equally shared by the three great Bible Societies." This was still in progress in 1907.[3]

Of High *Wen-li* as a medium for the translation of the Holy Scriptures, Dr Gibson, in his Review of Colloquial Versions, said at the same Conference of 1890 :—"But there is now a frank and general, if not yet quite unanimous, recognition that a high-class *Wen-li*, such as we in the South have used hitherto, has failed, and will fail to reach the bulk of our Christian people. Dr Blodget writes, 'I fear lest in time past the effort has not been faithfully made to bring the written language to its most simple form for our religious books.'

"It is a great matter that this fact has become so generally recognised. Brethren in Mandarin-speaking regions, who are accustomed to use the 'Mandarin colloquial' versions, are perhaps not sufficiently aware how absolutely we in the South have depended hitherto

[1] *Griffith John*, 1906, R. Wardlaw Thompson, p. 439.
[2] *The Chinese Empire*, p. 382.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 382.

on the *Wen-li* versions. It is from them the extempore translations heard in our churches are made, and those who are not constantly hearing them read in this way cannot appreciate how poor, confused, and inaccurate these translations often are. I am not speaking of persons who cannot read, but of preachers, catechists, students, and others. I doubt whether there is any missionary who could stand up and read at sight, from any part of the *Wen-li* Bible *ad aperturam*, a good translation into his vernacular. I think no one ought to undertake it. To give a good oral version in vernacular requires not only a good general knowledge of character, and of the syntax and structure of the Book language, and a nice discrimination of the effect of the particles and their relation to the context, but also a ready command of good vernacular, and ability to give, not merely a bald or loose paraphrase, but an apt and idiomatic version, neither slipshod nor redundant, in sentences not too long to hold the hearer's attention, and not so short as to lose the thread of the meaning. It requires, too, a certain boldness and tact to know how to take a firm hold of the character sentence as a whole, sometimes following its order, sometimes turning it end for end, sometimes bringing together characters widely separated in the book text, sometimes breaking up compact phrases in the text into separate clauses, so as to secure the life and freedom of the vernacular.

"When it is remembered that all this has to be done in interpreting to men that Word of God which we have no right to add to, to take from, or to change, surely one may well say that no one should dare to attempt it extempore. Even natives who are fairly good scholars, fail greatly in this most difficult task. Their translations are sometimes loose, sometimes inconsecutive, often stiff and obscure, frequently incorrect, and sometimes wholly meaningless.

"I have frequently noted such translations from the

lips of native preachers, and on consulting them afterwards found mistakes such as these :—

"1. Sentences uttered which could not be understood, because they belonged to the Book-language and were unknown in vernacular.

"2. Sentences which, though good vernacular, were of a different meaning from the text in hand.

"3. Sentences in which all the several words belonged to the vernacular, but which, as spoken, contained no meaning at all, the words having been arranged according to the order of the character text.

"Of these and others I could give instances, but to those not familiar with the vernacular in question the point of the illustration would not be apparent.

"I have dwelt upon this point to show brethren who habitually use in public reading the Mandarin versions, how urgent for us in the Southern dialects is the need of something better than the *Wen-li*." [1]

We now come to translations in Easy *Wen-li*, which is generally employed in popular literature and newspapers.

The Psalms were published in 1882, and the New Testament in 1889.

In 1885, Dr Griffith John's version was published by the National Bible Society of Scotland, and revised in 1889—the Old Testament as far as the Song of Solomon.

In 1890, a Union version in Easy *Wen-li* was decided on, under the same conditions as the High *Wen-li* version. A tentative edition was finished of the New Testament by 1900, but was delayed till 1907, during which time it has been re-examined and corrected no less than three times, "the results of which now await the completion of the other Union versions, that all may be harmonised together." [2]

Meanwhile, Bishop Schereschewsky completed a

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, pp. 68-9.
[2] *The Chinese Empire*, p. 384.

translation of the Old Testament into Easy *Wen-li*; but his style being higher than others, he undertook the New Testament, which he completed in 1895. The New Testament was printed in Japan in 1898, and eventually the whole Bible by the American Bible Society in 1902.

Of the Northern or Peking Mandarin, which is spoken by the official class, and, with provincialisms, by about three-quarters of China proper, the earliest version known is by Fr. C. P. Louis de Poirot, S.J., (1735-1814), now preserved at Sicawei. Translations and Revisions from 1864 to 1899, including Union version in Mandarin proposed in 1890.

In the Southern, or Nanking Mandarin, an edition was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1856-7 which, being unsuccessful, was replaced by Peking Mandarin.

Romanised editions (*i.e.* in Roman letters) were commenced by the China Inland Mission at Chinkiang in 1869, and the New Testament was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1888.

The American Bible Society published St John according to Sir Thomas Wade's System of Romanisation in 1895.

The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and some Epistles, in "Murray's Numeral System" appeared in 1896.

The "Standard System of Romanisation" was commenced in 1904, and the Gospels of St Matthew, St Mark, and St Luke were published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1905.

Concerning the "Term" Question as it affects Holy Scripture, we learn that "the presence of both European and American missionaries on the Committee of translation led to an effort to obtain uniformity by way of compromise. Dr Williamson proposed that the Roman Catholic terms should be adopted, as he found them widely understood, and in 1867 this was approved.

Subsequently, permission was given also for an edition with *Shangti*. The edition of the New Testament with the Roman Catholic term *Tien-chu* (Heavenly Lord) was completed by 1870; the one with *Shangti* (Supreme Ruler) being published somewhat later in the same year. Another edition with the *Chen-Shen* (True Spirit) was issued by the American Bible Society at the same time."[1]

Besides the above, in 1890, there appear to have been extant, translations of the Bible, or parts of it, either in Character, Roman Letter, or both, in dialects of Soochow, Shanghai, Ningpo, Kinwha, Wenchow, Taichow, Foochow, Amoy, Swatow, Hakka, Canton, and Hainan.[2]

Concerning the Foochow version, Rev. Dr Campbell Gibson remarked that:—"The character editions of the Foochow version are chiefly remarkable to an outsider for the extraordinary freedom with which characters are used to represent sounds, without any regard to their real meaning, and that, often, without any indication of this phonetic use." Having given examples, the reverend gentleman continued: "Probably the best that can be done has been done, and I give these few illustrations to show what confusion results from using Chinese characters to represent some of the vernaculars."[3]

Of the Hakka New Testament published in Character in 1883, the same authority tells us that:—"It appears to follow the Romanised editions, but is not rigidly conformed to them. It is also disfigured by the use of characters to represent sounds without regard to meaning, such as the following." Here follow instances, among which, the Chinese word *yu* (a monkey) is used in the sense of "you" *or* "thou." "Notwithstanding blemishes of this kind, which seem

[1] *The Chinese Empire*, p. 386.
[2] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 706.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 73-4.

inseparable from the character colloquials, this version is found of considerable use in the Hakka missions."[1]

In his essay on *Colloquial Versions of the Chinese Scriptures* in 1890, Rev. Dr Burdon asked:—"Is it advisable in the interests of the general work of missions in China to have so many translations of the Word of God into a language which, though divided into many dialects, is yet *one* on the written page throughout the whole Empire? This, it seems to me, is very apt to introduce confusion as to what is the real meaning of our Sacred Books, a result which might be injurious to the Chinese Christianity of the future."[2]

At the Centenary Missionary Conference of 1907, it was stated by Dr A. P. Parker that "although many versions of the Bible were in existence, yet the majority of the missionaries were of opinion that a better one was needed, so it was proposed that two Executive Committees be appointed to carry on this work. . . ."[3]

It would thus appear that every dialect, or nearly so, has been provided with a version of the Scriptures. There is, however, a conspicuous exception. "The British and Foreign Bible Society have published the Scriptures in the Negro-English of Jamaica; will they not consider the advisability of giving the Chinese an edition in pidgin-English?"[4] This, we regret to say, is the suggestion of a missionary. Pidgin-English, it may be explained, is an undignified jargon in use at the Treaty Ports as a means of communication between foreigners who will not learn Chinese, and natives who cannot speak English properly. It consists of about five hundred words, more or less mutilated; the construction of the sentences conforming, as we are told, to the Chinese idiom. To give an idea of what might befall

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 74.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[3] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, *North China Daily News* Office, p. 37.

[4] *A Cycle of Cathay*, 1896, W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D., p. 64.

the Holy Book in this "dialect," we quote the first verse of a classical composition in it—a "translation" of Longfellow's "Excelsior"—translator unknown, but supposed to be an American :—

"That nightee time begin chop-chop.*
One young man walkee, no can stop.
Maskee snow! maskee ice!†
He cally flag with chop so nice‡
Topside galow."

* (Chop-chop, quickly.) † (Maskee, never mind.) ‡ (Chop, a mark, a device.)

CHAPTER V

THE CIRCULATION OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

"The most strenuous efforts have been made," says the late Mr Alexander Michie, "to circulate the contents of the Bible everywhere, and more especially in literary China. Where the missionaries could not penetrate the book could be sent, and where they might provoke opposition by their bodily presence the Scriptures might be quietly studied in chambers with much hope of future harvest." No doubt appears to have risen as to the wisdom of this course, but "the unloosing of one tongue led to the unloosing of many, and the propriety of indiscriminate circulation of the Bible without note or comment was freely discussed at the last Conference in Shanghai [1890]."[1] "Committees are now discussing new versions, and Bible Societies are in friendly rivalry respecting them; while perhaps the wiser scheme of restricting the circulation, and keeping it under greater supervision has not received adequate consideration. The Roman Catholics in China, as elsewhere, have shown great circumspection in the issue of the Scriptures."[2]

"This promiscuous distribution of books," we learn from Dr Wells Williams, "has been much criticised by some, as injudicious, and little calculated to advance the objects of a Christian mission. The funds expended in printing and circulating books, it was said by these critics, who have never undertaken ought themselves,

[1] *Missionaries in China*, 1891, Alexander Michie, p. 64.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

could have been much better employed in establishing schools. To scatter books broadcast among a people whose ability to read them was not ascertained, and under circumstances which prevented any explanation of the design in giving them, or inquiries as to the effects produced, was not, at first view, a very wise or promising course. But it must be remembered that prior to the Treaty of Nanking this was the only means of approaching the people of the country. The Emperor forbade foreigners residing in his borders except at Canton, and Protestant missionaries did not believe that it was the best means of recommending their teachings to come before his subjects as persistent violators of his laws. . . . No one supposed that the desire to receive books was an index of the ability of the people to read them, or love of the doctrines contained in them. If the plan offered a reasonable probability of effecting some good, it certainly could do almost no harm, for the respect for printed books assured us that they would not be wantonly destroyed, but rather, in most cases, carefully preserved. . . . It is much easier to write, print, and give away religious treatises, than it is to sit down with the people and explain the leading truths of the Bible; but the two go well together among those who can read, and in no nation is it more desirable that they should be combined. If the books be given away without explanation, the people do not understand the object, and feel too little interest in them to take the trouble to find out; if the preacher deliver an intelligible discourse, his audience will probably remember its general purport, but they will be likely to read the book with more attention, and understand the sermon better when the two are combined; the voice explains the book, and the book recalls the ideas and teachings of the preacher."[1]

As early as 1832 we find Dr Gutzlaff forwarding "a

[1] *The Middle Kingdom* (Revised Edition), 1883, S. Wells Williams, LL.D., vol. ii., pp. 331-2.

whole set" of works of Protestant literature to the Emperor of China, "and he made in his rescript the sole remark, that they were unclassical." A further consignment appears to have been sent to H.M. in 1835, through the Viceroy of Foh-kiën, who made "very contumelious remarks. We have not read the answer."[1]

In 1835, Mr W. H. Medhurst reported of his journey into the interior, that in "various parts of four provinces and many villages," he gave away "about 18,000 volumes, of which 6000 were portions of the Scriptures."[2]

"The British and Foreign Bible Society, in 1853, decided to celebrate its Jubilee by the printing of 1,000,000 New Testaments in Chinese, the Christian public at home, in common with many of the missionaries on the field, hoping that the movement might result in the acceptance of Christianity on the part of the Chinese."[3]

In 1859, at the literary examinations in Fuchau, about "7000 tracts and volumes, besides 2000 copies of portions of the Bible" were distributed, and Mr Doolittle tells us "the vast majority seemed glad to obtain them."[4]

Professor Raphael Pumpelly mentions that in 1860, or thereabouts, an independent missionary, who was not recognised by anyone, "had accomplished his missionary work in China by having circulated, as he characteristically asserted, so many Bibles in every part of China that the inhabitants of that country can show, at the last day, no good reason why they should not be damned."[5]

In 1882, we have an interesting account of a

[1] *China Opened*, 1838, Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, vol. ii., p. 234.

[2] *China, Its History, Arts, and Literature*, 1904, Captain F. Brinkley, vol. x., p. 225.

[3] *The Chinese Empire*, 1907, Marshall Broomhall, B.A., p. 19.

[4] *The Social Life of the Chinese*, 1867, Rev. Justus Doolittle, p. 36.

[5] *Across America and Asia*, 1870, Raphael Pumpelly, p. 360.

distribution of the Bible and Bamboo in Hunan. At Touchou, the colporteur was protected by a military mandarin, one Tsau ta-jen, with an armed escort. As the crowd clamoured for Bibles, the guards laid aside the sword, and joined in selling the Scriptures. Even the mandarin—who, according to his own account, had cut off a hundred heads to pacify the people, just lately —"rolled up his sleeves, and sold Scriptures with as much alacrity as if he were killing rebels. . . . The proceeds were not so large as they might have been, but when I had the crowd listening to me patiently, I considered I had got a good bargain." The mandarin provided dinner, at which he himself swallowed "in my estimation liquor enough to make two men drunk; but fortunately he was a well-seasoned cask, and it only made him happy." Dinner over, they adjourned to the boat, protected by the mandarin's whole force of a hundred men, each armed with a stout bamboo, and followed by a yelling mob provided with "broken bricks." "As we left the camp, just one stone was thrown, when Tsau shouted 'Beat!' and his men turned on the mob with a determination that scattered them in all directions." They then became as friendly as anyone could desire, and "I remained amongst them till dark, and sold out all the books I had left."[1]

"You will see from the above," continues the same writer—Mr John Archibald, of Hankow—"that though I have travelled over upwards of 2500 li of new country, visited 17 cities, and about 40 towns, where a Protestant missionary has never yet been, besides visiting 5 cities and several towns, where I had been before; and although I was able to sell 270 Testaments, 4500 portions ditto, and about 6000 Christian books and tracts, yet little more has been done than to make work in the future practicable."[2]

"Wai-to-ap," Mr Henry informs his readers, "is

[1] *Quarterly Record of the National Bible Society of Scotland*, October 1882, pp. 319-20. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 322.

important as a point of entrance to the Kwong-si province. Its proximity, however, to the district in which the Taiping rebellion arose has fostered and increased the natural antipathy of the people to outside innovations. That the people are not incorrigibly set against foreigners may be seen by contrasting two visits made to the place within the last few years. The first was made by an agent of the American Bible Society, in one of his long tours for Bible distribution. As he approached the city he found that the officials, aware of his coming, had issued proclamations forbidding the people to have anything to do with him, or with those who accompanied him. He was met several miles down the river by a deputation from the district magistrate, requesting him to turn back. He persevered, however; but with the assistance of two native colporteurs, who devoted the whole day to the work, he was able to dispose of but one small book. His boat crew had taken some salt on speculation, which they soon succeeded in disposing of at a price much below its market value in the place. The man who bought it did not realise much profit in his violation of the order published against trafficking with the foreigner or his men. He was arrested, and fined one hundred dollars; his shop was closed by official order, and he was so severely beaten in punishment for his offence, that he died a few days after from the effects." Mr Henry continues, "This was not a very promising beginning of intercourse with the people of that district," and the next year he visited it himself when, "immediately on my arrival the magistrate sent a messenger and an escort with a sedan chair for me to visit him in his official residence, and was very cordial in his offers of assistance and protection." Apparently he sold "460 books and tracts of various sizes." The crew tried to sell salt again—contrary to express stipulation—but the townsfolk, very prudently, declined even to accept it as a gift.[1]

[1] *Ling-Nam*, 1886, B. C. Henry, A.M., pp. 116-7-8.

In 1889, the three great Bible Societies, viz., the British and Foreign, National Bible Society of Scotland, and American Bible Society, between them distributed in China, 1454 Bibles, 22,402 New Testaments, and 642,131 Portions of Scripture, making a total of 665,987. In the same year, the Central China Religious Tract Society issued 1,026,305 publications; and the Chinese Religious Tract Society did the same by 260,922—in all 1,287,227.[1]

In 1893, Rev. James Gilmour writing on Mongolia, tells us that, "every dose of medicine, if it is a powder, is first put up in an inner wrapper containing some Gospel truth, printed in sixty-four characters; and as most cases require two or more doses, these again are parcelled up in a larger paper, containing some prominent truth, printed in two hundred characters. In this way Gospel truth is scattered far and wide over the district."[2]

In 1900, writing on "Christian literature," Mr Alexander Michie mentioned, casually, that at one time within his experience, "one mission press in Shanghai was pouring out 30,000,000 pages annually, an amount which was more than doubled by the other mission presses."[3] The same gentleman quotes the *dictum* of Rev. R. H. Cobbold taken from the *Messenger* of April 1892 that:—"We want quality not quantity. . . . We have an association secretary who repeats *ad nauseam* the word *millions*, and whose cry is perpetually for *money*. You never hear this cry from Apostles."[4] We further hear from the same authority that at that time the Hankow Tract Society was issuing 1,000,000 tracts every year.[5]

In 1905, we gather that the circulation of the

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 734.

[2] *More about the Mongols*, 1893, James Gilmour, pp. 259-60.

[3] *China and Christianity*, 1900, Alexander Michie (for nearly twenty years correspondent of the *Times* in Pekin), p. 102.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

Scriptures by the three great Bible Societies mentioned above, was as follows:—British and Foreign Bible Society, 1,219,048; National Bible Society of Scotland, 907,274; and the American Bible Society, 537,304; the total for the three Societies amounting to 2,663,626.[1]

In the same year, according to the published report of three delegates sent from England, the tracts distributed in China numbered 3,707,775 divided among six societies, thus:—Central China Tract Society, 2,567,524; Chinese Tract Society, 340,120; North China Tract Society (average), 500,000; North Fukien Tract Society (Foochow), 130,086; Hongkong and Canton Tract Society, 40,045; and the West China Tract Society, 130,000.[2]

From a review of the annual report of the China Inland Mission for 1906, we learn that:—"The circulation of the Scriptures has been phenomenal, the total circulated during the past year by the three Bible Societies being 2,529,977, and it should be borne in mind that nearly all these copies are sold. . . . The Central China Tract Society has from the beginning circulated 26,037,928 copies. The Chinese Tract Society, Shanghai, during 1906, distributed a quantity equal to 10,893,322 pages. The Christian Literature Society last year issued 164,086,490 pages. Such a vast quantity of printed matter cannot fail to have its effect even in such a conservative land as China."[3]

At the Centenary Missionary Conference held in Shanghai in 1907, a lady announced that "every few weeks she gave over 10,000 leaflets."[4]

At a public meeting in the Albert Hall, London, held on 31st October of the same year, the President

[1] *The Chinese Empire*, 1907, Marshall Broomhall, B.A., p. 375.

[2] *Contemporary Review*, February 1908, p. 228.

[3] *Peking and Tientsin Times*, 12th November 1907.

[4] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, *North China Daily News* Office, p. 24.

of the British and Foreign Bible Society said that "a hundred years ago, no part of the Word of God was printed in Chinese. Now, a Testament in Mandarin could be bought for twopence, and the Bible Societies circulated annually over 1,000,000 copies. During the past thirty years over 26,000,000 of Christian books and tracts had been issued in Chinese. China was no longer asleep, and her door was no longer shut, and the millions of China were stretching out their hands for the knowledge which we possessed, and to which we owed our national greatness. It was a golden opportunity for missionary work."[1]

The following is a brief summary of the operations of the Bible and Tract Societies in China.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, founded in 1804, is an interdenominational and unsectarian Society, whose sole object is to encourage the wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment.

It has worked in connection with China since 1807. Up to 1860, the Scriptures were given away, but since about that time they have been sold at a low price. The total circulation from 1814 to 31st December 1905, including Bibles, Testaments, and Portions, has amounted to 13,246,263.[2]

The National Bible Society of Scotland, formed in 1861 by the union of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other Societies. "The Edinburgh Bible Society was the first among Bible Societies to sanction the sale by its colporteurs of other Christian literature along with the Scriptures, the conditions laid down being that such literature should be unsectarian, and that the Society's funds should not be used in its distribution. . . . The National Bible Society, after the union of 1861, readily recognised the propriety and advantage of it." The Society issued, in 1878, the New Testament in

[1] *The Times*, 1st November 1907.

[2] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, 1907, pp. 553-9, 565.

Pekinese Mandarin, with chapter headings and maps; and in 1899, the four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles annotated with "explanations in the way of translation." Since 1864, it has circulated, including Bibles, Testaments, and Portions, 7,984,163 copies, up to the end of 1905. "The Christian tracts and books sold along with these Scriptures may also be reckoned by the million."[1]

The American Bible Society entered China in 1843; and, including the year 1905, has circulated, between Bibles, Testaments, and Portions, 10,620,507 books, expending for all purposes about $903,496·89, gold.[2]

The East China Religious Tract Society (1844-1894) issued in 1894, 23,062 Chinese books and sheet tracts containing 375,860 pages; and 101 Foreign books of all sorts.

In 1894, this Society united with the Chinese Religious Tract Society, to form one Society, the Chinese Tract Society.[3]

The Central China Religious Tract Society (1876-1906) has circulated up to the close of 1905, 26,037,928 publications—including the Scripture Introductions circulated by the National Bible Society of Scotland.[4] While many books of an educational character are to be found on the Society's lists, the majority of its publications are essentially evangelical in character. The object of the Society being to put as many tracts as possible into the hands of as many people as possible, it has been a recognised principle from the beginning that evangelical literature should be sold as cheaply as possible. The work is carried on at an average loss of about 50 per cent.; the loss being made up by grants from Home Societies, and by the donations of missionaries and friends. On educational works there is practically no loss.[5]

[1] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, 1907, pp. 567-8-9, 573.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 574-80.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 614.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 618.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 616.

The Chinese Tract Society, formed in 1878 as the Chinese Religious Tract Society, united in 1895 with the Eastern Tract Society. Its publications number 398, viz., Commentaries, 47 ; other works for Christians, 89 ; for youth, 55 ; and for non-Christians, 207. From 1878 to 1905 inclusive, this agency has distributed matter amounting to 104,033,983 pages ; and has expended $99,664·53 in printing.[1]

The North China Tract Society was organised in 1883. Previous to the Boxer outbreak its publications amounted to 6,000,000 pages annually. The main depository in Peking, well stocked with books, was totally destroyed by the Boxers, and the whole work of the Society paralysed for almost two years. Two of the local depositories—Tientsin and Chefoo—have resumed work. For a long time it was impossible to secure copies of many publications, so complete had been their destruction ; but the list is now about as long as before, except in the matter of sheet tracts. Almost from the beginning the Society has issued Sabbath School Lesson Quarterlies, carefully prepared by a special committee. The issue is now 4000 copies per quarter, and is steadily increasing. For some years a monthly Christian periodical was issued, but was discontinued in 1898 for lack of an editor. The present demand for a periodical largely in Mandarin is such that its resumption awaits only the securing of the General Secretary, for the attaining of whose support the Society is now making every effort.[2]

The China Baptist Publication Society commenced active operations in 1899 at Canton. Its catalogue contains ninety-two titles of its own publications, among which are *Gospel Hymns ; Teachings of Jesus*, in four volumes, by Dr R. H. Graves ; Stalker's *Life of Christ*, and Meyer's *Present Tenses of the Blessed*

[1] *A Century of Protestant Missions*, pp. 620-1-2.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 623-4.

Life. A total of 147,872 copies of the Society's own publications were sold during 1905.[1]

The North Fukien Religious Tract Society began work in 1891. Amongst other books and tracts are, a Catechism of Christian Doctrine, a Catechism on Astronomy, and Dr Milne's tract *The Two Friends;* also the Five Character Classic, with commentary by Mr Tiong. In 1905 (including 70,000 Sabbath Calendars, and 1158 books, maps, etc.), 130,086 copies passed into circulation.[2]

The Hongkong and Canton Religious Tract Society sold, in 1896, 40,045 publications.[3]

The West China Religious Tract Society held its seventh annual meeting in 1907 at Chungking. "The feature in the year's work was more in the consolidation of the Society's position than in increase of circulation. The distinguishing feature was that for the first time in its history, the Society had received contributions from the United States. . . . The income from Chinese contributors is steadily increasing. . . . The yearly circulation is 130,000. There are 161 titles on its catalogue, mostly reprints of books originally issued by older Societies."[4]

Besides these Societies there exists the Christian Literature Society for China, which provides "books of comparatively high order for the more intelligent classes, and books illustrated by chromos for families." It publishes three periodicals, the well-known *Review of the Times*, for general articles; the *Chinese Christian Review*, to guide the leaders of the Churches; these monthly, and the *Chinese Weekly*. The publications range from the Bible and Life of Christ to Law, Commerce, and Political Economy. "One of the best proofs that our literature has done good is that some of

[1] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, p. 625.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 626.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 627.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 627.

our books are now out-of-date, because the reforms they advocated have been carried out. We claim a humble share in the awakening of China. Besides, our books for the native Church have produced revivals." Total pages printed since 1888, 164,086,490.[1]

Printing presses have been established by the London Missionary Society—given up in 1860, on the establishment of the American Presbyterian Mission Press, at Shanghai, which employs a Chinese staff, exclusive of bookbinders, of 206. The Methodist Mission Press, Foochow, output from 1891-1903 varied from 20,000,000 to 32,000,000 pages annually; eventually becoming a branch of the Methodist Publishing House in China, of Shanghai. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions commenced a Press in 1832 at Canton; removed to Peking in 1868. In 1894 it printed 1,702,160 pages, and in 1900 was destroyed by the Boxers; starting again in 1905 at Tungchou. In 1905-6, 1,000,000 pages were printed.

The Church Missionary Society conducts a press at Ningpo; the English Presbyterians one at Swatow—yearly output 450,000 pages. The National Bible Society of Scotland has very complete plant at Hankow, whence, since 1885, 8,625,000 Testaments and Portions, together with 18,000,000 tracts and books, have been issued.[2]

The Canadian Methodists own a press at Chentu [Szechwan], which at the end of 1906 had turned out 35,000,000 pages.

Besides the above, there are about a dozen foreign presses in various parts.[3]

"Amid the wondrous changes and reforms which are taking place in China with bewildering suddenness, not by violent revolution, but with the smoothness and completeness of natural law, the general and strong

[1] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, pp. 629-34.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 635-42.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 643-4.

desire after knowledge, if not after truth, is accompanied with a remarkable improvement in the attitude of the scholars and gentry towards Christian books, including the Scriptures, and towards those who offer them for sale." [1]

[1] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, p. 572.

CHAPTER VI

"THINKEST THOU THAT THOU UNDERSTANDEST WHAT THOU READEST?"

"Thinkest thou that thou understandest what thou readest? And how can I unless some man shew me?"—ACTS viii. 30-1.

"BY the general voice of Christendom, the Bible is acknowledged to be the Word of God. I believe that voice is not mistaken. Entertaining such a belief, I rejoice in maintaining the principle of our Society [the British and Foreign Bible Society], which is to circulate the Bible without note or comment; and since the commencement of my agency, I have never distributed a page of other matter along with it. . . . While by no means ignoring the efficacy and necessity of the Holy Spirit, to apply the truth to the heart and conscience; I yet believe that there is a power inherent in the very words of Scripture; and that we may legitimately look for results from its perusal which no other book warrants us to expect."[1] Thus the late Mr Alexander Wylie.

On the other hand, according to the Honorary Secretary to the Canterbury Board of Missions:—"The mode of communicating the Truth must vary with the requirements of each race, and the degree of their culture. It seems impossible, that we can continue to present to the Negro, the South Sea Islander, the Chinese, the Indian, the terrible Old Testament stories of Balaam, and Elijah, Jael and Jehu, the sad profli-

[1] *Chinese Researches*, 1897, Alexander Wylie, p. 108.

gacies of David and Solomon, the cruel damnatory Psalms: they are out of harmony with the feelings of Europeans in the nineteenth century; how much more with Oriental races in a low culture?"[1]

Also:—

"'Let women keep silence in the churches, etc.' Paul wrote with reference to the existing necessity, and the moral capacity of the women at Corinth, in the same way that he wrote to Philemon with reference to the existing necessity of dealing with slaves. He had not in his thoughts the Holy Women of Europe of the nineteenth century. . . . We may lay this passage reverently aside, and consider the subject on its intrinsic merits without reference to Authority, for, in fact, it is a new phenomenon of the present epoch."[2] So much for "Paul," now for "James." Speaking of "Faith-healing" at the Centenary Conference of Protestant missionaries in London, the same gentleman is reported to have said: "It stultifies the medical man if a person can pray over the sick, and trust that by a miracle he can be healed. I should like a strong expression of opinion from this section on this subject."[3]

Many such differences of opinion as to the authority of the Bible, and the interpretation of its parts can be found—as our daily experience shows. And when Christians born and bred cannot decide with any certainty, non-Christian Chinese may surely be excused for scepticism as to the infallible authority of Holy Scripture. But, at present, we are confronted with their difficulties arising out of the study of the Bible itself. And here it may be said that if the exponents of Bible Christianity believe in the all-sufficiency and infallible authority of the Holy Book, they are at least

[1] *The Gospel Message*, 1896, Robert Needham Cust, LL.D., p. 439.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[3] *Report of Centenary Conference on Protestant Missions of the World*, 1888, vol. ii., p. 116.

logical in declining to make note or comment thereon, unless they can guarantee the party who makes them the same infallibility as they assert the Bible itself to possess.

The Bible, then, as Mr Coffin, an American traveller, well observes, when translated, "is not easy of comprehension by the Chinese. Christian ideas cannot well be conveyed by the Chinese language, for want of proper terms, and a great portion of Biblical history is incomprehensible, because of its allusions to rites, ceremonies, and customs with which they are unacquainted. The opening of Mark's Gospel in our translation, is as follows:—'The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God.' 'This,' says Mr Nevius, 'seems perfectly simple to us, and it may appear strange to some that any difficulty can be found in it; but almost every word is an enigma to a Chinaman. According to Chinese idiom the translation runs, "God's Son Jesus Christ Gospel beginning." The word "God" suggests a thousand deities, supernal and infernal, but certainly not the God of the Bible. . . . The names of our Saviour Jesus Christ are translated by Chinese characters, resembling as nearly as possible the sounds of the original, and represent simply foreign names without meaning or associations. "Gospel" is translated by two characters meaning respectively "happiness" and "sound," but the combination is a new and peculiar one, and it would be difficult for the uninstructed reader to tell with certainty its meaning. The last word, "beginning," which is evidently connected with the two preceding it, forming the expression "happiness sound beginning," affords no assistance towards making it intelligible. Each of the following verses, looked at from the Chinese standpoint, presents similar difficulties, and is liable to some other misconception.'"[1] The same gentleman further tells us

[1] *Our New Way Round the World*, 1883, Charles Carleton Coffin, pp. 360-1.

that, at the time of his visit in 1866—"About 200 native preachers and teachers are employed. No theological school has yet been established for the training of preachers, and the native helpers have no commentaries or other books to help them to explain the Bible. But the Chinese are a reading people, and the leaves of Scripture scattered here and there are read till worn out."[1]

Concerning the Bible in Mongolia some four years later, Rev. James Gilmour, of the London Missionary Society, wrote:—"Superficial judges have sometimes condemned it, because frequently a Buriat or Mongol will look at it, read a little, shut up the book, and hand it back, saying he cannot understand it. A little more experience often leads to the conviction that it is not the language that is the difficulty but the subject matter. . . . There are perhaps instances that can be quoted, in which the Bible alone, unassisted, unexplained, has done, and done well, its wonderful work of convicting and converting men, and even of originating a little company of devout Christians. These instances, it is said, can be quoted, but they are rare; and perhaps the old Siberian missionaries would have done better, had they first prepared and published (that is, if the Russian Government would have allowed them) some little compendium of Christian truth and doctrine, couched in the common language of the people."[2] "Indeed, long experience of many different Mongol scholars attempting to read the Gospel in the tent, leads to the belief that the portions of Matthew's Gospel of which an unassisted Mongol can make sense at all, are comparatively few. . . . The difficulty seems to arise from the want of acquaintance, on the part of the reader, with Gospel truths and doctrines, from a slight indefiniteness inherent to Mongol writing, and

[1] *Our New Way Round the World*, 1883, Charles Carleton Coffin, p. 361.

[2] *Among the Mongols*, 1870, Rev. James Gilmour, M.A., pp. 52-3.

perhaps mainly, from proper names, Old Testament references, and Jewish customs occurring or referred to in this Gospel . . . one is forced, rather unwillingly it must be confessed, to the opinion that in propagating Christianity among the heathen, tracts and other books of elementary Christian teaching are, in the initial stages at least, a necessary introduction to the Bible itself . . . it seems very doubtful, if, in many cases, much good is accomplished by placing the Bible in the hands of a heathen as a first step towards his enlightenment."[1]

At the Conference of missionaries held in London in 1888, Mr John Archibald told his colleagues that:— "Missionaries want permission to issue some explanation with the Bible. There is nothing to show these people what the Bible is, what it claims to be, where it was issued, and what it is about; and the man who has it cannot make it out. . . . Chinese is a very bad vehicle for conveying Christian truth. Those who have translation work to do know that it is impossible to put Christian ideas into heathen tongues without some explanation. The very term 'God' he has no idea of, and whatever words you use give a wrong impression. So with regard to Grace, Mercy, and other things; if you simply translate those words, you do not convey the truth, but you convey something which is not the truth." An application to the Bible Board resulted in the decision that there might be maps and chapter-headings, and tables of weights and measures, so that the Chinese might know the length of a cubit, and the value of a shekel, but nothing more.[2]

In 1890, Rev. Alexander Williamson, of the Scotch United Presbyterian Mission, brought the question before the Missionary Conference at Shanghai. In early life when asked to accept the agency for the

[1] *Among the Mongols*, 1870, Rev. James Gilmour, M.A., pp. 192-3.

[2] *Report of Centenary Conference on Protestant Missions of the World*, 1888, vol. ii., pp. 305-6.

National Bible Society, he obtained permission to accompany the Bible with evangelical books and tracts; later, headings, introductions, and maps were permitted to one edition of the New Testament. Soon the introductions were vetoed, and the matter fell back nearly into the old position.

The Conference of 1877 had created a little stir at first over this subject, which also speedily subsided into the former condition. The missionaries felt themselves to be "handicapped by the Bible Societies," and that the whole question as to style, introductions, notes and general "get up" of the book required most serious looking into.

Nor was the question of minor importance; it concerned the Revelation given by God to man; and they must do everything they could to make the Bible not only intelligible but acceptable. The case of China was the most powerful possible. The greatest non-Christian nation in the world, the most literary and most given to criticism; the Bible, an unknown book, strange in style and unheard of in doctrine; surely they should take care here.

Some said the Bible was an Eastern book. But China was further from Palestine than the latter was from Great Britain; and Chinese idiom, etc., more alien to the Hebrew than was Hebrew to English. Others had argued that the Bible was "self-interpreting." It might be said to be so to one who could (1) read, and (2) had also some preparatory knowledge of its contents.

They were also told that the Bible, being God's Revelation to man, they were under the highest obligations to give it to every man. Yes, the truth it contained, but not necessarily in the precise form in which it was bound up in those covers, and certainly not to those who were as yet unable to make good use of it. There was a time when there was no Bible, only a few written parchments, or brick tablets. Other

revelations were given as the Israelites were able to understand them. So also in the New Testament Church, first one Gospel, up to the entire canon. "But hundreds of thousands entered into the Kingdom of God without any Bible, simply by faith in the teaching of the Apostles and their successors." Our Lord Himself had said He had many things to communicate to His disciples, but they were not yet able to understand them. How then could they imagine that the Chinese, who had never heard of the doctrines of the Bible, should be able to comprehend the whole revelation at once?

The Bible was his [Dr Williamson's] all; and no one could be more emphatic as to their duty to put it—even its present form—into the hands of their converts and teach it to the young. But he maintained the understanding of the Bible among the people needed either (1) preliminary teaching, a preparation which the Chinese had not received; or (2) elucidatory notes, and that, therefore, if they felt it their duty to give them the Bible, they must give them, bound up *with it*, the means of understanding it, that wherever the Word of God might go, the "key" might go likewise.[1]

First.—Historical and geographical notes were needed. Allusion was made in the Bible to men in almost every chapter, Abraham, Moses, David, etc. Who were they? asked the Chinese, and where were Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Jerusalem? And this more frequently since the necessary transliteration of names was un-Chinese and uncouth to them, *e.g.*, Ya-pah-la-han for Abraham. And having no help they, too often, laid the book aside.

Second.—Equally obvious was the need for ethnological notes, *e.g.*, Feast of the Passover, of Pentecost, Tabernacles, Jubilee, Trumpets, etc., what could the Chinese make of those; or of Pharisees, etc.?

[1] *Records of the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries, Shanghai*, 1890, pp. 106-7-8.

Third.—Biblical manners and customs. (1) Shepherds, than from whom no more frequent or sacred instructions had been drawn. But millions in China had never seen a sheep; and those who had, regarded it as the most stupid of animals, and the shepherd the equal of the swine-herd. (2) Milk, never used for food except now and then in the extreme North; and (3) grapes, plentiful but never used for wine; (4) Salutations, washing of feet, the holy kiss, etc.

Many Chinese customs diametrically opposed ours, *e.g.*, the left was the seat of honour; white, mourning. We associated the old serpent with Satan, they with the symbol of intelligence, beneficence, and power; while the dragon was their national banner, their royal coat-of-arms.

Fourth, and most serious. Chinese contained no equivalent for hundreds of Scriptural words, only approximations. Wherefore without notes *they came far short of conveying revealed truth, and sometimes taught error* — a strong statement, but one that would be borne out by all duly acquainted with the language.

Nor had the Chinese any correct idea of sin—one driven into the Jews by object lessons. Sin with them meant "offence"; "I offend you"; in a deprecating form "I beg your pardon"; and not gathering the true sense, the Chinese wondered at the importance we set upon it.

Again, atonement had a not very pleasant mercantile association: holiness meant the human perfection of Confucius; and, with other terms, had to be represented by unspiritual characters.[1]

This question was once discussed at a large meeting of the Scotch Bible Society. A gentleman rose, and with an air of overpowering solemnity said: "No notes or comments; we must give them the sincere milk of the word." Little did he know that this was the very

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, pp. 108-9.

thing which he and his friends were preventing them from doing, and compelling them to give the Chinese little better than husks—words devoid of the spiritual meaning of the original.

Fifth.—Many portions of the Psalms, Prophecies, and Epistles were all mist to the Chinese—who became offended and often cast the book contemptuously aside, *e.g.*, "God has been our dwelling-place in all generations." With his materialistic ideas the Chinaman asked, "How can God be a dwelling-place?" Again, "Washed in the blood of the Lamb"—blood was not purifying in the eyes of the Chinese. So also "born again," "the water of life." He shrank from enlarging on "Except ye eat my flesh, etc.," lest a bad use should be made of it by scoffers. One of their most experienced missionaries had said to him, "My oldest and best native pastor confessed to me lately that, for years he had read the Scriptures chapter after chapter, often in absolute blindness and bewilderment, reading the characters easily enough, but entirely at a loss as to the sense."

Sixth.—Names and titles of our Lord presented great difficulty, *e.g.*, the rock of ages, the horn of salvation, the second Adam: as also those of the Church, *e.g.*, the bride of Christ, the golden candlestick, and so on: as well as of Christ's people, *e.g.*, kings and priests unto God, members of Christ's body: and names applied to Christian ministers: Stewards of the mysteries of God, etc. Once more: names applied to the evil one, *e.g.*, prince of the power of the air, father of lies, Apollyon, Beelzebub.[1]

A Chinese scholar had said of a certain scientific work, the characters were Chinese, and the sentences arranged in seeming order, but what did it all mean? The Old and New Testaments might be plain enough to them [the missionaries] in Chinese, and to those taught by them, because they read a meaning into the

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, pp. 110-1.

characters *which they did not possess of themselves nor convey to ordinary Chinese readers.*

Seventh.—Maps and headings, now granted, might be made much more serviceable, if prepared by one familiar with the Chinese mind.

Eighth.—Introductions to the various books, giving authorship, and circumstances in which they were composed, were still denied them. Why should they be required to send forth books without head or tail—dumb books, blind books—among this new and inquiring people?

Ninth.—A general preface to both Testaments was also of paramount importance, stating authority, contents, etc. A Chinaman read Genesis, and naturally asked on what ground he was to believe about the creation, the fall, the flood, and so forth. He turned to Exodus and read about the tabernacle, ark, altars, etc.; and asked, "Is this Christianity?" Going on to Leviticus, he asked the same concerning clean and unclean animals, ceremonial purifications, an eye for an eye. Farther on he found wholesale slaughter commanded and carried out. At the Psalms and Prophets he was perfectly bewildered, and asked, "What is all this about?" Or let them suppose the Chinese reader to fall upon the story of Abraham, Jacob, David, or Solomon, he naturally asked, "Are these the exemplars of the men of the West?" The Chinese had through all their existence been extraordinarily careful about the purity of their classics, and even of their standard histories, and it was deplorable that the missionaries should not have it in their power to make the *rationale* of all these *lapsi* as widely known as the history of them.

If they took the responsibility of publishing this sacred book, they were under the most solemn obligations to help readers to understand it, not by *vivâ voce* explanations merely, which might or might not be possible, but with the text, to go wherever the book went.

Tenth.—The name for the Bible, *Yoh*, was inappropriate. It was a good translation of "testament," but meant "contract, agreement, treaty and such like," as well. After the "Treaty" of 1860 between China and the Powers, hand-bills were widely circulated, intimating the old treaties were annulled. Not long afterwards a friend was selling Scriptures at one of the examinations, when he was asked, "Why do you sell the Old Treaty? Have you not informed us that all the old treaties are abrogated and a new one agreed on by the great powers?"[1]

The Bible was by no means unintelligible throughout to the Chinese, but they denounced the whole because of the parts that were so. It had been useful in many cases, but it might have been a thousand-fold more so had ordinary means been adopted to elucidate it.

He had not touched the question of translation. Several of their versions were admirable—far better than the septuagint which sufficed for the early Christians. What would have happened if St Paul and St Peter had given their time to revising the Greek text of the septuagint instead of going forth to preach the Gospel?

No possible translation being able to make the Bible plain to the uninitiated Chinese, he proposed an annotated Bible which would practically end the "Term" controversy, give them a uniform Bible for the whole nation, and supply the urgent want of an intelligible and acceptable Bible for China.[2]

Mr John Archibald, of the National Bible Society (Scotland), in noticing that all the Bible Societies at work in China had a clause in their constitutions binding them "to circulate the Holy Scriptures without note or comment," anticipated difficulty in getting the work done, and the outbreak of a "most lively dispute as

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, pp. 112-3.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 113-4.

to the nature of the notes, and as to who should prepare them"; and feared "an awful explosion" when all was done.[1]

Rev. J. L. Nevius (American Presbyterian) agreed with Dr Williamson. Even those portions of the Bible best suited for general distribution in China were only partially and imperfectly understood by the heathen. Did not this prove conclusively that it was not the book to give to the heathen on their first introduction to Christian truth? Every portion of the Scriptures presupposed a certain amount of information necessary for understanding it. In answer to the question:—"What if the apparent small results be rather due to lack of faith and prayer?" they might ask again:—"What if this agency for which we pray, *i.e.*, the Bible for the heathen—without note or comment—is not of God's appointment?" In that case had they any good reason to expect an answer to their prayer?[2]

But it might be said that the Bible was self-interpreting, and an uninstructed Chinaman, by the earnest and persistent study of it alone, might become wise unto salvation. This was, no doubt, true; but how very rare such Chinamen were. And supposing the case of such a one, would not oral or printed explanation be of great advantage to him? and would it not be their obvious duty to supply them even for him?

It might still be said, that though the Bible without note or comment might not be best suited to introduce Christianity to a heathen people, since Bible Societies were so willing to furnish funds for printing and distributing it, what harm could there be in their doing so? He [Dr Nevius] answered, "Much in many ways."[3]

1. It was practising a kind of unconscious deception on the heathen. It was implied in offering a book to a Chinaman that it was both useful and suitable. The

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 126.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8-9. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

purchaser was told (if anything was said, which was by no means certain) that this was a revelation from heaven, that it was the greatest and best of all books of the West; that it was what had made Christian nations what they were, and that it would confer inestimable blessings on China, and on every individual who followed its precepts. This was all literally true, but the native employed probably did not say to the purchaser that he would almost certainly not understand the book, or be able to sell it to others, even for the pittance he gave for it, unless he disposed of it for waste paper. The buyer soon found out that for himself, and the result was too often disappointment, suspicion, and prejudice. Dishonour was cast upon this Book of books, and upon the religion which it represented.

2. When missionary or native evangelist visited this region, which had been traversed by the Bible-seller, wishing to communicate oral instruction, or distribute tracts specially designed for the people, he was often told that his books were not wanted, as they were not intelligible. In this way the Bible-seller, so far from paving the way for the missionary, might, on the contrary, obstruct it. In Shantung there was a class of religionists, or seekers after truth, scattered all over the province. These were the first persons to gather round the Bible-agent and purchase his books. Their first meeting with these men was the golden opportunity to win them to Christ. He believed that in many cases this opportunity had been lost. If even the native colporteur was what he ought to be, and would state to the people that this was an ancient book, and a translation, that it contained mysterious doctrines not easily understood, the case would be somewhat different. Unfortunately, Bible Societies were not able to secure such men as they would like. In these early stages of mission work in China, nearly all of the intelligent Chinese converts were employed as evangelists or helpers, and Bible Societies were obliged to take up

with men of an inferior class—the best they could get. In Shantung, at least, these men had too often had neither the ability nor the disposition to do what a Bible-agent should do. The paper before them insisted on the importance of securing suitable native agents. But suppose they were not to be had? Should they not consider seriously whether the work should be undertaken without them.

3. There was reason to fear that unnecessary opposition and abuse had been aroused by the promiscuous sale of the Bible, and especially by pressing it upon those who did not want it. In a recent number of the *Chinese Recorder*, Rev. F. H. James had called their attention to public placards giving passages selected from the Scriptures, with the special view of disparaging them, and adding comments to put them in the worst light, as warnings against the immorality and heterodox character of the Bible. Mr Dyer's paper spoke of the special trials and insults to which Bible-agents were exposed from those who hated them and their work. It was well for them to inquire whether much of this abuse might not have been a direct consequence of disregarding the specific command of our Saviour:—"Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet and turn again and rend you."[1]

4. The impression was sometimes produced in the West, by unguarded statements and reports, that there was actually a large demand for the Bible in China. In a report of the American Bible Society a few years ago, its supporters were congratulated on the very large number of Bibles disposed of during the year, and it was stated, as a special additional cause for congratulation, that nearly all the copies disposed of were *sold*. A very different impression would have been produced at home if the further facts had been stated—that the books were "sold" at a nominal price, being a mere

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, pp. 129-30.

fraction of their cost, and that, too, under the mistaken idea respecting them given above. The ability to dispose of the Bible diminished rapidly as the character of the book became known, the seller repairing to new fields to keep up sales. Of late years the sales in this province had been so exceedingly small, that Bible-agents had felt bound in conscience to give up the work. One of the Agents reported to him—Dr Nevius—that he had reason to suspect that his native employees returned to him a portion of their wages, so as to keep up an appearance of receipts, and give some slight reason for their continued employment. In the last effort to sell Bibles in Shantung which he had known, a carefully selected and energetic native agent was only able to report sales to the extent of less than half a dollar a month.

They were aware that these views were unwelcome in many places at home, and that many would fain believe that they were individual and exceptional, not representing the missionary body generally. Unpleasant as the task was, he believed that truth and candour required that *all* the facts relating to this subject be known. They believed that these views, so far from detracting from the reverence due to the Bible, and from its usefulness, only tended to enhance them.[1]

They wished: to emphasise the principle that in China, as a rule, evangelists should precede the Bible, and not the Bible evangelists; to ask the continued aid of the Bible Societies in still further improving their present translations, in securing a common or general version as soon as possible, in which all missionaries could unite, and in supplying the actual demand for Bibles which—though then limited—was constantly increasing, and would, they believed, continue to increase.

At that time they did not think it desirable to divert

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 130.

funds, which might be used to great advantage in lands where the Bible was known and honoured as the Word of God, for its extensive distribution among the masses of China. They earnestly begged for the introductions and explanations suggested by Dr Williamson.[1]

At the same Conference, Rev. H. C. Du Bose (American Presbyterian Mission) remarked that his experience was not that of Dr Nevius. The Bible was not understood, the same might be said of books and tracts. The preaching of the Gospel was not understood; but why? Because the Chinese lacked the teachable spirit. It might be that these "notes and comments" would be much more difficult to understand than the written Word, and would not give the exact information they wished to give. The people did not understand the Gospel, because they did not understand the general features of the plan of salvation. He would rejoice at notes and comments, but they had to remember that the money was given to these Societies on condition that the Bible should be published "without notes and comments."[2]

Rev. C. Leaman (American Presbyterian) did not want commentaries, and Chinamen had told him they had no use for them. He had seen a Chinaman comparing his commentary and his Bible, and had heard him complain they did not agree.[3]

Rev. Dr Graves (American Baptist) believed in short notes, but hoped the impression would not be made that without note or comment the Bible did no good; nor that they were getting on Roman Catholic ground, and felt it dangerous to circulate the Word of God without note or comment.[4]

Rev. Dr Wright, the representative of the British and Foreign Bible Society, said it would modify the Society's operations in China, if the Conference should adopt Dr Nevius' statement that the Bible without

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 131.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 131. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 132. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

note or comment should not precede the evangelist. If they held that Dr Nevius was right when he said that the Bible was not a suitable book for distribution among the heathen, then the burden on their Society would be considerably lightened in China. He would be exceedingly sorry to see the paper of Dr Nevius printed in the Report of their proceedings. It and that of Dr Williamson conceded the whole argument regarding the circulation of the Scriptures, that had stood between them and the Church of Rome up to that time. They were willing to add sectional headings —summaries without theological bias; maps; alternative readings in the Authorised Bible. In addition to the sectional summaries, explanations might be given of all words difficult to the Chinese. A society such as theirs composed of Episcopalians, Friends, Baptists, Presbyterians, and all the different denominations of Christians, could not go in for theological definitions, which would only represent the shade of opinion of a portion of their supporters. They received money for a specific purpose and must so apply it. Much could be done by printing on good paper, with good type, and much could be done by improving the binding and selecting colours which should be pleasing to the Chinese.[1]

Rev. Evan Bryant, of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Tientsin, while in substantial agreement with Dr Williamson, differed *in toto* on one point. This was the theological nature of any possible notes. Let them look at the matter for a moment. In explaining the term "atonement," or its Chinese equivalent, which view of the atonement was to be given? And, in like manner, "justification"? There were three views of "justification" before his mind at that moment, and there were missionary brethren in China and at the Conference that day who held them; now, which of those views was to be introduced in explanation of

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, pp. 134-5.

their Scriptures for general circulation? Take also the word for "baptism"; what explanation should be given of that word in such Scriptures? Was the explanation given of that term in the notes to the Gospel of St Mark, already referred to, satisfactory? *There*, it was said that baptism signified "washing the heart and putting away evil." Now, could that explanation be deemed satisfactory? There were many in that Conference who, he ventured to think, could not accept it. And so it would be with many other expressions that were of a theological character. God forbid that they should send forth among that people, and through the agencies of the Bible Societies, Scriptures charged with *doctrinal* explanations, that would not only fetter the teachers and the taught on every hand, but also sow the seed of future discord. He most earnestly asked that Conference not to sanction any such course. Let them by all means give notes, "historical, philological, and ethnological," *with* or *in* their Scriptures where needed, but let them beware of inserting with them any theological notes. The peace and prosperity of the Christian Church in China, he profoundly believed, would be best promoted by their keeping out of the Bible Societies' Scriptures, all such notes.[1]

In his reply, Dr Alexander Williamson said he now began to fear that, in his endeavour to be moderate, he had said too little. He had adduced some important terms or words for which the Chinese had no equivalent, and which they interpreted according to their own ideas, and so missed the truth intended to be conveyed by the inspired writer. He now added some more, such as: (1) *creation*, of which they had no proper idea, the terms used commonly meaning only that made for the first time; (2) *religion*, which only meant instruction; (3) *worship*, which meant obeisance or salutation; (4) *reverence*, conveying the idea of respectful decorum;

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, pp. 138-9.

(5) *sacrifice*, to present offerings; (6) all the terms connected with Divine worship, *e.g.*, *Sabbath*, *praise*, *prayer*, *prophet*, *priest*, *bishop*, etc.; (7) those they used for a future life, *e.g.*, *soul*, *immortality*, *heaven*, *hell*, etc., were either Taoist or Buddhist; (8) the anthropomorphic representatives of God, some very *outré*, which were liable to serious misunderstanding; (9) the *kingdom of God*, *repentance*, *faith*, *conversion*, *grace*, *adoption*, *reconciliation*, *election*, the *flesh* and the *spirit*.

Mr Dyer [British and Foreign Bible Society, Shanghai] had (continued Dr Williamson) made as good a defence as it was possible for any man to make, but he virtually gave it up. He said there was no doubt, certain things in the Scriptures, such as terms, names, geographical notices, etc., would be helped by explanation in the form of a tract. Why not place them in the book where they were needed? Again, Mr Dyer admitted that among the heathen there were certain portions which alone could not be understood by them, *e.g.*, *most* of the prophets, the Revelation, and some of the Epistles. And he might have added the Song of Solomon and a large portion of the Epistles. But what Mr Dyer admitted to be unintelligible, embraced a large measure of the Bible; what did he intend to do with these portions? would he cease to circulate them? or would he continue to distribute and sell what he knew was not intelligible without explanation? and were they, the missionaries, to be forced by the Bible Societies to use a Bible without note or comment, which their own agents admitted to be deficient in perspicuity?[1] The missionary, quoted by Mr Dyer as rejoicing in deliverance from the fallacy of "being so blind as to think that uninspired men could put the Gospel more clearly than those who wrote the Holy Scriptures under the direct inspiration of God's Holy Spirit," fell into another one,

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 139.

and his view amounted to this, that they need only repeat the phraseology of Scripture to their audiences; no necessity for explanation, or teaching, or exhortation —for, if he admitted that, he admitted everything.

Translation was not completed till the meaning was conveyed, so the "*pure word of God*" *was not given to the Chinese, until they used such terms and means as made it plain.*

Mr Dyer had given ten instances of good having been done by the circulation of the Scriptures. But he should have noted the other side as well. And he—Dr Williamson—would undertake to bring forward several scores of instances of missionaries testifying that Chinamen had over and over again told them they could not understand the Bible. In fact, there was hardly a missionary of a few years' standing, and even the Bible-agents themselves, but had many instances to that effect; so in the case of testimony, the one was a hundred-fold stronger than the other.

They had not lost faith in the Bible, but they had lost faith in paragraph after paragraph of Chinese characters, which conveyed no intelligible meaning to the ordinary Chinese reader. Nor had the Bible broken down in China, only the Chinese language had not in it single characters by which their spiritual truths could be represented one by one; and what they claimed was a paraphrase in the same, of a sentence or two, explanatory of the true mind of the Spirit.[1]

It would appear that two of the great Bible Societies continue to publish without note or comment. The result of the Missionary Conference of 1890 in the case of the third — the National Bible Society of Scotland—was "a request that certain missionaries should furnish the Board with such Notes on the Gospel of St Mark as would be likely to meet the wishes of the Conference. These were carefully considered, abbreviated, and reduced in number, so as

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 140.

to ensure that they should not conflict with the constitutional position of the Society, but should be rather 'explanations in the way of translation' after the example of the sacred writers, who frequently interject the phrase 'which being by interpretation,' in order to make a strange word or phrase intelligible and luminous to their readers. Ultimately the Board unanimously resolved to issue a tentative edition of St Mark's Gospel thus annotated, which was published in 1893. By the end of the year, 70,000 copies had been called for. By 1899, the three remaining Gospels and the Book of Acts had in like manner been carefully annotated, and all had been issued from the Society's press at Hankow; each copy having a brief introduction, a map of Palestine, and one coloured illustration. Well nigh two and a half million copies have now been issued in China itself and far beyond the bounds of the Eighteen Provinces."[1]

[1] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, 1907, ed. by D. MacGillivray, p. 569.

CHAPTER VII

THE BIBLE AND THE CHINESE

THE question now arises as to the application by the Chinese of the Scriptures, etc., with which they have been provided by purchase or gift. And first, we have to consider the reading population, *i.e.*, those able to read, outside the *literati*.

In 1869, the late Dr Nevius, a Presbyterian missionary, wrote:—"Many persons who have attended school a few years, and learned the names of a considerable number of the most common characters without having learned their meanings, may be able to read a page of a book or most of the characters in it, very much as a person may read a page of Latin without knowing anything, or but very little, about the language. . . . Again a person in a drug-store may become familiarly acquainted with the characters designating every article in the store, and also with the terms and expressions used in keeping books and business letters." Excepting those two classes, "those who can understand literature generally, the proportion of readers is very small."[1]

In 1877, Rev. Dr Martin informs us that "on this subject a false impression had gone abroad. We hear it asserted that 'education is universal in China; even coolies are taught to read and write.' In one sense this is true, but not as we understand 'reading and writing.' In the alphabetical vernaculars of the West, the ability to read and write implies the ability to express one's

[1] *China and the Chinese*, 1869, Rev. John L. Nevius, pp. 210-1.

thought by the pen, and to grasp the thought of others when so expressed. In Chinese, and especially in the classical or book language, it implies nothing of the sort. A shopkeeper may be able to write the numbers and keep accounts without being able to write anything else; and a lad who has attended school for several years will pronounce the characters of an ordinary book with faultless precision, yet not comprehend the meaning of a single sentence. Of those who can read understandingly (and nothing else ought to be called reading), the proportion is greater in towns than in rural districts. But striking an average, it does not, according to my observation, exceed 1 in 20 for the male sex, and 1 in 10,000 for the female—rather a humiliating exhibit for a country which has contained for centuries such a magnificent institution as the Hanlin Academy."[1]

In the revised edition of his well-known work on China, Dr Wells Williams considers the question in 1883. "How great a proportion of the people in China can read, is a difficult question to answer, for foreigners have had no means of learning the facts in the case, and the natives never go into such inquiries. More of the men in the cities can read than in the country, and more in some provinces than in others. In the district of Nanhai, which forms part of the city of Canton, an imperfect examination led to the belief that nearly all the men were able to read, except fishermen, agriculturists, coolies, boat-people, and fuellers, and that two or three in ten devote their lives to literary pursuits. In less thickly settled districts, not more than four- or five-tenths, and even less can read. In Macao, perhaps, half the men can read. From an examination of the hospital patients at Ningpo, one of the missionaries estimated the readers to form not more than five per cent. of the men; while another missionary at the

[1] *The Chinese, Their Education, Philosophy and Letters*, 1898, W. A. P. Martin, p. 74.

same place, who made inquiry in a higher grade of society, reckoned them at 20 per cent. The villagers about Amoy are deplorably ignorant; one lady who had lived there twenty years writes that she had never found a woman who could read, but these were doubtless from among the poorer classes. It appears that as one goes north, the extent and thoroughness of education diminishes. Throughout the Empire the ability to understand books is not commensurate with the ability to read the characters, and both have been somewhat exaggerated. Owing to the manner in which education is commenced—learning the forms and sounds of characters before their meanings are understood—it comes to pass that many persons can call over the names of the characters, while they do not comprehend in the least the sense of what they read. Moreover, in the Chinese language different subjects demand different characters; and although a man may be well versed in the classics or in fiction, he may be easily posed by being asked to explain a simple treatise in medicine or mathematics, in consequence of the many new or unfamiliar words on every page."[1]

Rev. B. C. Henry, for ten years a missionary in Canton, informs us that "whole villages are met with, where not one in a hundred can read or write intelligently."[2] He wrote in 1884. In the following year Mr Dukes found that "the most deplorably ignorant province is Fuh-kien. Intelligent and judicious colporteurs have assured the writer that only 1 or 2 per cent. of the men can read with sufficient intelligence to allow of the hope that, if they receive the Scriptures, their own eyes could convey the meaning to their minds and hearts."[3]

[1] *The Middle Kingdom* (Revised Edition), 1883, S. Wells Williams, LL.D., vol. i., pp. 544-5.

[2] *The Cross and the Dragon*, 1884, Rev. B. C. Henry, p. 42.

[3] *Everyday Life in China*, 1885, Edwin Joshua Dukes (Missionary of Fuh-kien), pp. 166-7.

At the Conference of 1890, Rev. John C. Gibson, considering the true test in this matter as "ability to understand a book written in a simple style upon any non-technical subject," proceeded to estimate. "Let us take the whole population at 300,000,000. From this total we must first deduct the number of children who are too young to read, say under ten years of age. Taking these at 25 per cent. of the population, they would number 75,000,000 in all. Deducting these, we have 225,000,000 as the adult population with which we have to deal. It may be taken as roughly correct that half this number are men and half are women. The women, as a rule, do not read. There are exceptions, and there are occasionally women distinguished for scholarship. All cases will be covered if we estimate that of the 112,500,000 women, 1 per cent., or 1,125,000 in all, are able to read. Of the 112,500,000 men it is a liberal estimate to say that 10 per cent., or 11,250,000 in all, may be reckoned as readers. . . . Total number of readers, 12,375,000." Then, quoting Dr Martin's words given above, Dr Gibson continues, "This estimate by Dr Martin reduces the number of readers to 5,737,000 or under 6,000,000, and I am not prepared to say it is too low.

Since publishing my estimate I have received many communications from different parts of China, expressing concurrence in it. I have before me a list of twenty names, chiefly of missionaries, none of whom have been less than ten years in China, who have expressed more or less strongly their agreement with me in my estimate of the number of readers. . . ." [1]

Mr Adamson, of the British and Foreign Bible Society, writes, "I should think that not more than 10 per cent. of the people in the North of Shen-si can read the written character intelligently." [2]

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 67.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

"Dr R. W. Thompson said at the International Missionary Conference, 'I am told by missionaries in the North of China that 3 per cent. of the people can read.'"[1]

With reference to the Mandarin-speaking districts the Rev. W. Cooper, of the China Inland Mission, writes :— "Notwithstanding the fact that we have the Scriptures and other Christian books in Mandarin colloquial, which, when read in the hearing of the congregation are fairly well understood ; nevertheless, the number of our converts is so small, and the difficulty of learning the character so great, that we despair of getting the Christians, as a body, by this means to read and understand the Word of God for themselves. As a matter of fact, very few of them have the time or ability to learn the character sufficiently to enable them to read intelligently, even after years of attendance on Christian preaching." Hence Mr Hudson Taylor appears to have tried a system of Romanized Mandarin colloquial, which proved more successful.[2]

The question may occur to the reader :—"How, then, are official proclamations, issued by the Chinese Government, understood?" This is answered for us by Rt. Rev. J. S. Burdon as follows :—"We are all familiar with the kind of crowd that gathers round a freshly issued proclamation, if of general interest. It consists of all classes, educated and uneducated. Each man tries to read, half aloud, according to his ability. Many are puzzled by characters that they have either forgotten or never known, but these are skipped, and somehow or other everyone gets a general idea of the gist of the proclamation by means of two or three of its most prominent phrases, and these are repeated from mouth to mouth *in their Wen-li dress*, without any attempt to translate them into colloquial even to those who cannot read. . . . This is the way in which China is governed,

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 80.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

and has been governed for centuries, and it answers well for Chinese purposes."[1]

In a work published in 1901, Rev. Dr Gibson brings our information up to date, by repeating his own estimate of Chinese readers and that of Rev. Dr Martin, previously given at the Conference of 1890.[2]

In 1907, three delegates sent from England to the Missionary Conference of that year at Shanghai—Messrs Fox, Macalister, and Simpson—reported as follows:—"Although the Chinese are considered a literary people, and have naturally desire for education; yet, owing to the extreme difficulty of mastering the Chinese characters, it is estimated that only 1 in 10 of the population can read or write."[3]

Such being the number of Chinese who can make intelligent use of the Bible, "it is not surprising," says Dr Wells Williams, "that the fate of these books cannot be traced, for that is true of such labours in other lands. On the one hand, they have been seen on the counters of shops, cut in two for wrapping up medicines and fruit—which the shopman would not do with the worst of his own books; on the other, a copy of a gospel containing remarks was found on board the admiral's junk at Tinghai, when that town was taken by the English in 1840. They certainly have not all been lost or contemptuously destroyed, though perhaps most have been like seed sown by the wayside."[4]

In 1906, we read that:—"I found a week or two ago, says a Bible-agent of Yung Ping Fu, Chih-li Province, that our copies of the Scriptures were being surreptitiously bought from colporteurs on the streets and then employed in wrapping up copper coins, much

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, pp. 102-3.

[2] *Mission Problems and Mission Methods, in South China*, 1901, J. Campbell Gibson, M.A., D.D., p. 41.

[3] *Contemporary Review*, February 1908, p. 231.

[4] *The Middle Kingdom* (Revised Edition), 1883, S. Wells Williams, LL.D., vol. ii., p. 332.

in the same way that dollars are wrapped up by foreign banks. The reason for this is that Scriptures are sold much too cheaply ; cheaper, indeed, than the commonest paper that can be purchased in China, and it seems that the Bible Societies should agree together to raise the price somewhat. Better smaller sales than such wanton destruction of the Sacred Book. A large firm that had so used our books sent a written apology, undertook not to repeat the offence, and contributed the sum of $20 in gold to the Government Boys' School in Tientsin. In the settlement of this case, it is a pleasure to add that we are indebted to the Roman Catholic Bishop, to whom the offending business-house appealed."[1]

In 1907, the present writer caused inquiries to be made in China. It was admitted, said his correspondent, that of the Scriptures and Tracts, "about 90 per cent. is lost, a large proportion being used for making the soles of Chinese boots and shoes, and the balance being turned to other uses. The degree of fruit borne by the 10 per cent. that is read must, to a large extent, be a matter of guess-work. Often it lies dormant for years in some obscure corner of the interior, when, a chance reader coming across it, is struck by what he reads, makes inquiries, and eventually becomes converted. He [the informant] certainly told me some remarkable cases of this that came under his own observation. Apparently, one of the most popular books is the Book of Job ; the spirit in which Job met his troubles seems to appeal to the Chinese peasant, living in grinding poverty, and oppressed by the mandarin, and he finds a solace in Job's view of life which leads him to higher things. One cannot say that there is not the grace of God working here, but the whole result seems wretchedly inadequate to the powder and shot expended. . . ."[2]

[1] Quoted from *North China Daily News*, 2nd April 1906, by *Catholic Herald of India.*

[2] Letter to the writer, dated 29th September 1907.

We have now to consider the case of those who do understand the Scriptures according to their lights. "Another cause of stumbling," Lord Curzon tells us, "is supplied by the unedited and ill-revised translations of the Bible, and particularly of the Old Testament, that are printed off by the million, and scattered broadcast through the country. It never seems to occur to the missionary societies, that the Holy Scriptures, which require in places some explanation, if not some expurgation, for ourselves, may stand in still greater need of editing for a community who care nothing about the customs or prepossessions of the ancient Jews, but who are invited to accept the entire volume as a revelation from on high. I am aware of a so-called English missionary who rampages about Central Asia with the funds supplied by societies at home, and who, taking with him a portmanteau full of Bibles, thinks that by dropping its contents here and there, he is winning recruits to the fold of Christ. What is the educated Chinaman likely to think, for instance, of Samuel hewing Agag in pieces before the Lord, or of David setting Uriah in the forefront of the battle, and commissioning Solomon to slay Shimei, whose life he had himself sworn to spare, or of Solomon exchanging love-lyrics with the Shulamite women? Even in the New Testament, the bidding to forsake father and mother for the sake of Christ must to the Chinaman's eyes be the height of profanity, whilst if he can follow the logic of St Paul, he accomplishes that which is beyond the power of many educated Christians. To the Chinese people, who have great faith but little hope in their own creeds, a simple statement of the teaching of Christ might be a glorious and welcome revelation. But the text of the Scriptures, unsoftened and unexplained, has no such necessary effect, and is capable in ingenious hands (as the Hunan publications sufficiently showed) of being con-

verted into an argument against that which it is intended to support."[1]

The "Hunan publications," it may be explained, were a series of some thirty or more pamphlets containing copious quotations from the Bible in disparagement of Christianity, extensively circulated in the province of Hunan, in the year 1891. Their authorship was traced by Rev. Griffith John to one Chow-Han, an "expectant" official who resided near Chang-sha; and they were largely responsible for the anti-foreign riots of the same year.

"If the text of the Bible," Lord Curzon proceeds, "is thus wrested into a cause of offence, neither is the intrinsic abstruseness of the dogma which it inculcates easy of interpretation in a manner which conveys enlightenment to the Chinese intellect. The mysteries, for instance, attaching to the Christian theogony, and to the doctrine of the Trinity, while to the believer they only supply welcome material for faith, are to the unbeliever excellent ground for suspicion."[2]

Years before, Mr Edkins had expressed similar views. "While so few, it is better for them [the Chinese Protestant converts] not to be thrown entirely on their own resources. They might fall into error, as did the Kwangsi Christians, who began so well and so seriously with reading the Scriptures and prayer-meetings. There was no one to tell them that our religion is peaceful, and that the weapons of our warfare are not carnal. The zeal of these men which, untempered by an enlightened prudence, led them to the brink of destruction, would have wrought wonders for the spread of Christianity if rightly directed. Among the lessons that we have learned by their history is this, that in prosecuting the task of evangelising China there needs to be careful instruction added to the possession

[1] *Problems of the Far East*, 1894, Hon. George N. Curzon, M.P., pp. 313-4.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 314.

of the Word of God. The Bible needs an expositor, and zeal needs a wise regulating prudence."[1]

Rev. James Gilmour, of the London Mission, who was in Mongolia in 1870, found that "a Mongol sometimes asks how we know all that our Bible tells us of a future state to be true."[2] The answer is not recorded, but elsewhere we find that "as to subjects not treated of in the Bible, and doctrines difficult to fathom, perhaps the most successful method of dealing with an objector is to explain that the Bible does not claim to be a complete set of treatises explaining everything, but a guide-book pointing out clearly the way to heaven, informing the traveller of everything which it is needful or helpful for him to know, but leaving a multitude of things to be seen and learned by him when he arrives at his destination."[3]

As concrete examples of difficulties raised by the Bible in China, we learn that "Chinese students of Bible history find it almost impossible to accept the first chapter of Exodus as an accurate translation. It seems to them so preposterous to assert that Pharaoh could have commanded that the boys should all be drowned and the girls saved alive."[4] [This in consequence of the comparatively little value they themselves attach to girls—as will be made abundantly plain later.]

"No doubt," writes a Chinese gentleman, "the Protestant missionary has lately [this was originally written in a newspaper in 1891] taken a great deal to what he calls science and scientific teaching. He can no doubt tell his native pupils that the mandarins are foolish to make a fuss about the eclipse of the moon; but will he not in the very next hour have to tell the same pupils that the sun and moon *did* stand still at the

[1] *The Religious Condition of the Chinese*, 1859, Rev. Joseph Edkins, B.A., pp. 285-6.

[2] *Among the Mongols*, 1870, Rev. James Gilmour, M.A., p. 203.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 207-8.

[4] *Wanderings in China*, 1886, C. F. Gordon Cumming, vol. i., pp. 195-6.

bidding of the Hebrew General Joshua, and that the book in which this true fact is recorded, is a holy book written at the dictation of the all-wise Author of the Universe? Now, I appeal to everyone who has the cause of intellectual enlightenment at heart, to say whether anything can be more anti-scientific than this —to call it by no harsher name—intellectual jugglery. The fact that the missionary is himself unconscious of it, only proves the subtlety and magnitude of the mischief it can do. I say, therefore, whatever amount of mere scientific information the Protestant missionary is capable of bringing into China, they bring also with them a canker worm which must eventually put an end to all hope of intellectual enlightenment for the Chinese. For was it not against this same intellectual jugglery that all the great emancipators of the human spirit in Europe have fought and are fighting to this very day."[1]

Note.—The "fuss" referred to about the eclipse of the moon no doubt concerns the ceremonies, beating of drums, gongs, etc., which take place at the time, due to the superstition of the Chinese, that the sun is about to devour the moon.

A missionary who laboured for twelve years in China has recorded his experiences with the Bible. He tried to teach his Chinese servant some simple Bible stories. "One night we had got as far as the Flood, and when the narrative declared that the tops of the mountains were covered and every living thing died, he burst into a paroxysm of laughter, and with tears running down his face asked, 'Wherever did all that water come from?' These beginnings in the school of evangelisation were not promising.[2] . . . Some of the more critical converts found out apparent discrepancies in the Gospels which would have qualified them for a high place in the

[1] *Papers from a Viceroy's Yamen*, 1901, Ku Hung-Ming, M.A., pp. 39-40.

[2] *Chinamen at Home*, 1900, Thomas G. Selby (twelve years a missionary in China), p. 197.

Tübingen school.[1] . . . When travelling by river, I was often asked to fill up the time at nightfall and entertain passengers and boatmen by short discourses, just as a musician or actor crossing the Atlantic is pressed to favour the passengers with an evening's entertainment. I was looked upon as a purveyor of pious diversions. . . . We had anchored for the night, and the boatmen having eaten rice and washed, were seated in a jovial circle with faces slightly reddened with *samshoo*. 'Come and sit down amongst us,' exclaimed a boisterous, good-humoured member of the crew, 'and tell us a few lies to pass the time.' He had not the slightest sense of the offence of the word, and had looked upon the Gospel narratives as fables with a purpose."[2]

"Betting finds its way into the preaching-halls, and the missionary is sometimes made an unconscious abettor of its acts. A youth who had purchased a Scripture portion at a book depôt came up and asked me to tell him the pronunciation of two somewhat difficult characters in one of the chapters. After he had got the necessary information he went back to his seat, and entered into a furious quarrel with his neighbour. They had a bet on about the pronunciation of the two characters. I had been the innocent referee, and the quarrel concerned the payment of the stakes."[3]

Even the Sermon on the Mount can suggest difficulties it would seem. "A preacher spoke of Providence and its care for the birds, 'who neither sow nor gather into barns.' 'No,' said a sharp hearer, with a gift for repartee, who had acknowledged that his great snare was gambling, 'but they steal; and dice, cards, and lotteries are not half so bad. I can have faith if I help Providence to feed me by tricks less vicious than the thieving of the birds.'"[4]

"One thing I have observed," remarks Mr James, "is that while the Roman Catholics adorn schools or

[1] *Chinamen at Home*, 1900, Thomas G. Selby, p. 201.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 234-5. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 241-2. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

places of worship with pictures of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, the Crucifixion, and scenes from the New Testament, Protestant Missionaries, no doubt from the best motives, most frequently display pictures from the Old Testament; stories such as the history of Joseph, or Daniel in the lion's den, or the naming of the beasts by Adam, or the Ark sailing over the Flood. The point is not one of importance, but seeing that the main object of missionaries is to teach the history of our Lord, and the work He did for mankind, surely Roman Catholics in this matter are the more sensible of the two."[1]

The late Mr Alexander Michie felt the same difficulty. "How little some of the missionaries feel the need of smoothing down the less digestible portions of the Old Testament may be seen from their selecting some of the hardest passages for special advertisement. Their tracts, for example, which are intended to be read by Chinese who have never heard a foreigner's voice, are coarsely illustrated by such scenes as Jonah being swallowed by the great fish, and Jael in the act of driving her tent-peg through the temples of her sleeping guest." The first, Mr Michie thinks, presents no difficulty to the imagination of an Oriental people, "nor is the treachery of Jael calculated to shock Chinese notions of honest reprisal. But whether Christianity is much assisted by such rough forms of introduction is quite another question."[2]

Once more Mr Selby. At Fatshan, so he tells us, service was conducted by a Chinese catechist who "was fluent, plausible, and possessed the faculty of personal magnetism; but he had not a high conception of the Spiritual genius of Christianity." After teaching and distribution of books for a time, he enrolled the names of some proposed converts, and asked a Canton missionary to go over to receive them. "Against

[1] *The Long White Mountain, A Journey in Manchuria*, 1888, H. E. M. James, p. 378.

[2] *Missionaries in China*, 1891, Alexander Michie, pp. 65-6.

each name were varying numbers of dots and circles. Candidate No. 1 had attended five times, and knew the story of Adam and Eve. Candidate No. 2 had been nine times, and took great delight in the history of Joseph in Egypt. Candidate No. 3 had been seven times, and had familiarised himself with the career of Daniel and the deliverance of the three Hebrew vegetarians. The missionary of course felt that his catechist was on wrong lines, and had only a vague sense of the evangelical change required from the man who confesses Christ by baptism."[1] Also:—"Native preachers are fond of taking Old Testament subjects, and shaping them into allegories, and one day the subject of the address had been the Cities of Refuge. A man, who had listened with apparent interest, wished to know the names of those cities, and the native preacher turned to the Book of Joshua and gave the list. 'But when a man had fled from the Avenger of Blood, and got to one of those cities, what about his rice? He might as well save himself the run, and die by the hand of the Avenger, as rush into the city, and die by slow starvation.' From any point of the exegetical compass, a Chinaman can find his way up to the great rice problem."[2]

This attachment to the Old Testament would not appear to be peculiar to the Chinese. At the siege of the European Legations in Peking by the Boxers in 1900—where, unquestionably, any day might have been the last for the defenders, we learn from Deaconess Ransome that, on 11th June, "Mr Allen began to-day to give us a series of lectures on the Minor Prophets, which are most interesting and delightful, and which I have long wanted. But it does seem so strange to have waited for them until we are in this pass."[3]

[1] *Chinamen at Home*, 1900, Thomas G. Selby (twelve years a missionary in China), pp. 198-9. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[3] *Story of the Siege Hospital in Peking*, 1901, Jessie Ransome (Deaconess), pp. 51-2.

There is a more serious side to this question of universal Bible study in China referred to by Mr Michie thus:—"Men of a strange race, predisposed to be hostile, and not over-nice in their imaginations, were not at all certain to find edification" in the Bible.[1] Certainly, as far as the South is concerned, the poorer classes are not too nice in their ideas, *teste* Rev. B. C. Henry, who worked among them for ten years:—"The conversation of the poorer classes especially is something too vile and horrible to think of. It seems perfectly inconceivable that people, however degraded, could bring their lips to repeat such language as falls incessantly from their tongues. If the conversation that Lot was compelled to listen to in Sodom was anything like that which greets the ear in China, he certainly deserved profoundest commiseration."[2] "What," pursues Mr Michie, "is an educated heathen likely to make of . . . the miraculous birth, as presented to him for the first time in the New Testament? What the Chinese *literati* do make of it the missionaries know very well, and have known for a long time, though few dare speak out."[3]

"It so happens that, impure as the Chinese imagination may be, the whole body of their classical literature does not contain a single passage which needs to be slurred over or explained away, and which may not be read in its full natural sense by youth or maiden."[4] And concerning the "Book of Odes"—one of the classics—we are assured by Captain Brinkley that "several of them deal with love, but not one contains an immodest word, and if they show that the beauties of Nature and the tyranny of the tender passion were fully appreciated by China's ancient poets, they show also that female virtue, piety, and moral sentiments

[1] *Missionaries in China*, 1891, Alexander Michie, p. 66.
[2] *The Cross and the Dragon*, 1884, Rev. B. C. Henry, p. 59.
[3] *Missionaries in China*, p. 66.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

received high esteem from the fathers of the Chinese race."[1]

Hence Mr Michie remarks once more: "To people nurtured on a literature so immaculate in these respects, there are things in the Bible which are calculated to create a prejudice against its teaching even in well-disposed minds."[2]

At the Missionary Conference of 1890, Rev. J. N. B. Smith, referring to "placards in which passages from the Scriptures are quoted and attention called to the immorality of Christianity," said that he had seen in Shanghai "a book in which apparently every passage in the English Bible which could by any possibility be twisted to convey an immoral idea was either quoted or referred to," but "such facts only prove that the carnal mind is enmity against God."[3] At the same gathering Rev. Timothy Richard asked:—"Who can give any proof that the story of Lot, the Song of Solomon, and other parts of the Old Testament were ever meant for general distribution among Chinamen before they can be converted to a religion that superseded Judaism? It is certain that unwise distribution of such parts of Scripture *have* given rise to abominable scandal and fierce persecution. A wide circulation of this kind of literature is not anything to be proud of."[4]

And five years afterwards Mr Norman found that "up to the present, the Protestant missionaries have circulated the whole Bible in Chinese. They have recently seen their error, and are now considering the advisability of following the steps of the more circumspect Roman Catholics, and withholding certain parts obviously unfit for Oriental comprehension. Their failure to do this hitherto, has resulted in parodies of

[1] *China, Its History, Arts, and Literature*, 1904, Captain F. Brinkley, vol. xi., p. 216.

[2] *Missionaries in China*, p. 67.

[3] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 136.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 412-3.

the most vital doctrines of orthodox Protestantism being spread all over China, of a brutality so revolting as to be beyond all possibility of mention."[1]

There can be no doubt that the indiscriminate circulation of the Bible, aided by the "inalienable right of private interpretation" thereof, is capable of producing the most disastrous material results. Of such a nature was the T'ai P'ing Rebellion, which cost millions of Chinese lives and devastated entire districts. Rev. Dr Edkins, a Protestant missionary, tells us that, according to the testimony of a "sincere and simple-minded Christian . . . a cousin to Tae-ping-wang, the rebel leader . . . there can be no reasonable doubt that this insurrection began in strong religious impressions derived from reading the Scriptures and tracts published by Protestant missionaries, and Protestant native converts.[2] . . . That Tae-ping-wang should have put forward pretensions to be the brother of Jesus Christ is much to be deplored.[3] . . . We also see in this movement the effect of the distribution in that country of Bibles and Christian tracts. A reading population, such as there exists, can receive the knowledge of Christianity in this way without the presence of a living teacher. They have reprinted some Christian treatises with slight alterations, and composed others modelled on those prepared by foreigners."[4]

"In regard to the insurgents," wrote Mr George Smith on 22nd November 1859, "so little is known of them, that it would be difficult to form a decided opinion, but we may safely say that a body of men, comprising millions of people, whose religion is in opposition to every form of idolatry, Papal or Pagan, and who make the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament the standard of their teaching, and whose own compositions, whether prayers or hymns, contain so much saving truth,

[1] *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, 1895, Henry Norman, p. 306.
[2] *Religion in China* (Second Edition), 1878, Joseph Edkins, D.D., p. 189. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 191. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

and who for years have maintained their place in the heart of the Chinese Empire, and seem now more consolidated than ever; we may safely say that such a body of men has a very important part to play in the purposes of Him Whose Kingdom is to fill the whole earth."[1]

In 1863, Dr Edkins visited Nanking and wrote as follows:—"The Taipings rule the country despotically. Unable to obtain the goodwill of the people they are obliged to obtain their services by force. In addition to the practice of forced and unpaid labour, there is the further ill of frequent foraging raids by bodies of men from the garrisons. The poor victims only can know the extent of wrong and misery inflicted on these occasions. Such a mode of carrying on a war must have a demoralising effect on those who engage in it, and it is an exceedingly painful reflection that, having among them our Bible and some portions of our Christianity, there should be no more check on these evils than that which is found to exist. The Taiping chiefs often make examples of the worst of their followers, decapitating them, or condemning them to wear the cangue, for the crimes of robbery and incendiarism. But such instances of just severity do not suffice to restrain from various atrocities a vast number of unprincipled men who follow the Taiping banner to be free from the obligation of honest labour."[2]

"Hung Sew-tsuen, the recognised leader of the rebellion," we learn from Archdeacon Moule, "received from Leang A-fah, Morrison's faithful, estimable, but poorly educated convert, some books and tracts of his own compilation. . . . These books he laid aside for some years. In 1837 (four years later) . . . he fell ill for forty days, and saw visions which were ever after quoted as the cause and explanation of the great

[1] *Glimpses of Mission Work in China*, 1860. In section "Tai Pings," Geo. Smith, p. 56.

[2] *Chinese Scenes and People*, 1863, Jane R. Edkins. In section by Rev. J. Edkins, p. 304.

rebellion. . . . The war of 1842 opened the eyes of Hung Sew-tsuen to the power of the strange foreigners whom he had seen in Canton. He bethought himself of his long neglected books; and studying them, he seemed to find a confirmation of his visions in their pages."[1]

Once more: "There is no doubt that the leader of the T'ai P'ing rebels taught his followers certain preposterous and fanatical doctrines, together with much that was noble and true. He proclaimed himself a younger son of God, and the equal brother of Jesus Christ! This was no doubt to give his person a commanding sanctity in the eyes of his followers. At the same time he refused to tolerate idolatry, and exhorted the people to give up their superstitions and worship the heavenly Father. It has been truly pointed out that this extraordinary movement, which shook the Empire to its core, and by the upheaval of old religions has done more than anything else to prepare the Chinese mind for the reception of Divine Truth, had its germ in the writing of a Chinese convert."[2]

Consequently, as Archdeacon Moule remarks, "It does not surprise us to find San-ko-lin-sin in 1858, and the Governor of Kiangsi in 1860, memorialising against Christianity, and placarding it as revolutionary and in league with the rebels."[3] "The Catholic Missions were adverse to the rebellion from first to last," Mr Michie tells us.[4]

Finally, in 1891, the same gentleman records that the "more thoughtful heads" had evidently learned a lesson from the fact that "the foulest attacks made against Christianity by the Chinese *literati* are loaded to the muzzle with missiles from the Bible."[5]

[1] *Personal Recollections of the T'ai P'ing Rebellion*, 1898, Ven. Archdeacon Moule, p. 2.

[2] *The Story of the London Missionary Society*, 1795-1895, 1894, C. Silvester Horne, M.A., pp. 317-8.

[3] *Personal Recollections of the T'ai P'ing Rebellion*, p. 25.

[4] *China and Christianity*, 1900, Alexander Michie, p. 95.

[5] *Missionaries in China*, 1891, Alexander Michie, p. 65.

CHAPTER VIII

MARRIAGE AND THE MISSIONARY

THOUGH it cannot be proved that the fact of a married clergy has retarded the progress of Christianity among the heathen—except in so far as a Faith, nominally one, possessing diametrically opposite practices may have done—nevertheless, since, on no point of discipline has the Catholic Church been more fiercely attacked than on this one, it seems proper to consider the question here. The testimony will, as usual, be entirely from non-Catholic sources.

The opinion expressed by St Paul respecting matrimony gathers additional force in the case of a Christian missionary. Not only is the unmarried man or woman "solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord," but the married couple are solicitous for the things of the world, and to please one another; and the missionary "is divided."[1]

As if to corroborate the Apostle's opinion, and show that it applies with as much force to the nineteenth century as to the first, two witnesses have recorded their own experience in the matter.

The first is a gentleman, formerly an official in India. "I spent ten years entirely alone, or with one or two celibate companions, in the midst of the people over whose secular interests I had to watch. I remember how greatly the work was advanced by entire freedom from family and social duties and cares, how subjects of doubt could be discussed earnestly and thoroughly,

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 32-3-4.

how before the dawn I was in the saddle surrounded by the natives who came to accompany me, how my heart went out to them because *they were the sole objects of my interest* [italics his]: if such were the case in Community-life, or solitary life, while employed on earthly business, how much more, when the heart is given to Spiritual business by spiritually minded men!"[1] A Vicar-Apostolic could neither have said more, nor said better.

The second is a lady, of the China Inland Mission who, making comparisons with Buddhism, inveighs heartily against everything Catholic, "including the sacred sect of shaven celibates, cut off from all natural affection and human ties."[2] She—as such writers are apt to do—evidently forgot that she had previously told us that, "having no household cares or responsibilities, we are free to give all our time and strength to work and study, and can go or come as we like, remaining a night or two in any hamlet or town to which we may be invited."[3] St Paul's opinion, precisely! they were unmarried, and, consequently, "solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord"—which things, be it observed, were the only things that brought them to China.

On the other hand is abundant testimony to the contrary, *e.g.*, "The Protestant does not go out like the Roman Catholic, detached from all bonds of country, society, and family—a member only of an Order, bound by no higher, perhaps no other, allegiance than that to his Church. . . . If the missionary requires to be orientalised in order to be successful, then the Protestant ideal of missions must be given up, and the missionary must become a celibate. The family cannot be torn from its roots in Western civilisation. The missionary occupation is not hereditary. The children belong to the West and should return to the

[1] *The Gospel Message*, 1896, Robert Needham Cust, LL.D., p. 85.
[2] *In the Far East*, 1889, Geraldine Guinness, p. 189.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

West. They simply cannot be brought up on the mission field."[1] In a paper read before the Peking Missionary Association (17th December 1888) on "How to become a missionary and convert no one," Rev. Chauncey Goodrich mentions being "busy about many things, settling in new home, distractions of housekeeping, etc."[2] Mrs Stuart told a Shanghai Conference of "the earnestness and enthusiasm of the young missionary, of how her household cares gradually throng upon her, until it seems as if time for possible service is quite swallowed up."[3] And a reverend but ungallant gentleman, after remarking that the physical appearance of the lady missionaries "did not impress me," adds :—"True, those who select female missionaries are on the horns of a dilemma. Well-favoured girls marry and leave the business."[4]

The question assumes special importance in China, the inhabitants of which, according to Professor Parker, "cannot conceive any priesthood apart from celibacy. . . . The religious feeling in the vast empire of China varies as much from province to province as it does in Europe ; yet everywhere the Catholic method appeals more readily than the Protestant to the Chinese view of what is right."[5]

That the Professor did not speak without knowledge is clear from the impressions of a Chinese who travelled abroad, and wrote an account of what he saw for the benefit of his countrymen. From him we learn that :— "Fŭh-pin was a native of Cheang-p'oó, in the prefecture of Cheang-chew ; and became officiating priest in the temple at Samarang. He could write a good hand, and talk very glibly, but he publicly married a wife, and

[1] *Modern Missions in the East*, 1895, Edward A. Lawrence, D.D., pp. 201-2.

[2] *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, June 1889, p. 254.

[3] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 512.

[4] *John Chinaman at Home*, 1905, Rev. E. J. Hardy, M.A., Chaplain to the Forces, p. 309.

[5] *China past and present*, 1903, Professor E. H. Parker, pp. 95-6.

brought up a family of children, to which was added an establishment of men-servants and maid-servants; so that when a guest arrived, he used to call his slave-girl to boil the tea; most ridiculous truly! For it appears that priests in foreign parts have wives and concubines, which is there thought to be nothing remarkable. However, I could not help composing a verse to expose the priest Fŭh-pin, as follows:—

> I have heard it reported a hermit dwells here,
> Who joins with the worldling in making good cheer;
> His surplice is worked in the female arcade,
> And to boil us some tea, he calls out his maid."[1]

Mr Consul Medhurst expresses practically the same views as Professor Parker. As regards their married condition, "I am not by any means prepared to condemn it, or to advocate celibacy as a rule, for I know of many devoted couples whose united and energetic efforts have been productive of great good. At the same time I venture to think that a man or woman labouring single-handed must of necessity prove a more effective missionary as far as China is concerned, for not only is increased leisure afforded for undivided attention to the work, but more opportunity and freedom are given for complete disassociation from foreign surroundings, and a thorough seclusion among the natives; and there is, moreover, a greater likelihood of earning the goodwill and respect of the Chinese, in whose eyes celibacy constitutes an important element of self-sacrifice."[2] "'A priest,' said the Chinaman, 'and yet married!'"[3] And the reputation of being 'very much married' saved a Protestant missionary's life. In the Boxer Rising Mr Green was captured by the Boxers, while travelling with his wife and a lady

[1] *The Chinaman Abroad*, 1849, Ong-Tae-Hae (translated by W. H. Medhurst, D.D.), p. 27.

[2] *The Foreigner in Far Cathay*, 1872, W. H. Medhurst, p. 36.

[3] *The Chinese as they are*, 1843, G. Tadescant Lay, p. 68.

missionary: "I could not be a Romanist priest," they said, "because I had two wives (!) and children."[1]

In 1896, the late Mrs Bishop wrote to Miss Cullen from China:—"I daresay you think I say too little about missions. There are many problems connected with them, which grow in difficulty as missions spread and increase. The one which specially afflicts me is the waste of working power, and the scandal among natives caused by the ceaseless marryings and maternities of missionary women making an end of work; and not only this, but that in inland China many of the best of the single women have much of their time occupied nursing the mothers five and six months after each baby is brought into the world. In one small mission, two ladies came out four years ago, and one three years ago, each giving up useful homework. Each tells me she has never had time to begin Chinese with a teacher, far less mission-work, owing to these babies. Do people at home, they ask, contribute to send out monthly nurses, who must remain so for four to six months at a time—or missionaries? There are various reforms absolutely necessary, and none know it better than the missionaries themselves, but anyone suggesting them would be thought an enemy. The missionary army as represented on paper has perhaps an effective strength of one-half. My inquiries are most carefully made and solely among missionaries."[2]

Mr Arnot Reid found that the Protestant missionaries at Kalgan had tried to live among the Chinese, but failed, because for them it was impossible. "Only the Roman Catholic missionaries can do that, and they can do it partly because they are celibate, and partly because if they die there are more priests to follow and carry on the work. But a Protestant missionary, with perhaps a wife and a couple of children, cannot live the

[1] *In Deaths Oft*, 1901, C. H. S. Green, p. 52.

[2] *Life of Isabella Bird* (Mrs Bishop), 1906, Anna M. Stoddart, pp. 319-20.

life of a Chinatown, and if he persisted in attempting to do so, he ought to incur much disapproval for unnecessarily sacrificing the interests of his wife and children."[1] "He is divided," St Paul would have said.

On 5th August 1861, a missionary's wife wrote to her mother: "Mr Edkins had now to make up his mind on the subject. On the one hand the newly entered-on mission-field here, with his large daily audiences and several inquirers; then on the other hand his sick wife."[2] To his honour be it said, the missionary did his duty.

"Indeed, no man with any self-respect should be expected to live in a native house, the dirt and squalor being almost indescribable,"[3] says Hon. H. N. Shore, forgetful of One Who lived in a stable. Dr Lawrence is evidently of the same mind. "What then," he asks, "does a Western home in the East involve? It involves not a house like his neighbours, very often not a native house at all . . . the foreign mission house should be larger, roomier, more comfortable, more permanent than the home mission house. The furniture of the West should be there. He should not be expected to sit on the floor, sleep on a mat, or eat from a plate of plantain leaves, or with chopsticks, or with his fingers, though he should be able and ready to do all this when there is occasion. He should have the books, periodicals, pictures, and musical instruments of his own country. In short, it should be a little bit of Europe or America set right down in a heathen land."[4] Mr Reid is more modest. "The married Protestant missionary, with a wife and children," he thinks, "requires a cottage and a pony-carriage, or its

[1] *Peking to Petersburg*, 1897, Arnot Reid, p. 73.

[2] *Chinese Scenes and People*, 1863, Jane R. Edkins, p. 234.

[3] *The Flight of the "Lapwing,"* 1881, Hon. Henry Noel Shore, R.N., p. 119.

[4] *Modern Missions in the East*, 1895, Edward A. Lawrence, D.D., pp. 205-6.

equivalent."[1] Curiously enough, it is this last item that disturbs the equanimity of Canon Taylor. "The pony-carriage is obviously fatal to the missionary's influence. If St Paul, before starting on one of his missionary journeys, had required St James and a committee at Jerusalem, to guarantee him £300 a year, paid quarterly, and had provided himself with a shady bungalow, a punkah, a pony-carriage and a wife, he would not have changed the history of the world."[2]

"To a theological student who inquired, 'Shall I go to the heathen married or single?' Dr Eli Smith replied, 'By all means married. Because a single man must depend on another missionary's wife for home comforts, etc., which is unfair. Because the question is not whether he shall take care of a wife, but she, of him. Because a single man in the East is looked upon as corrupt. Because women prove equal, if not superior, to men in Christian work. Because nothing more influences the heathen mind than the exhibition of what Christianity does for women and home life.'"[3] Canon Taylor answers this, and provides matter for thought as well:—

"In favour of matrimony it is urged. 1. That a woman's influence is necessary for teaching girls. It is replied that this influence can be as well or better exercised through sisterhoods. 2. That missionaries feel lonely and want society. It is replied that brotherhoods of men living in community are much more effective than isolated missionaries. 3. That scandals are prevented. It is replied that the serious lapses from morality which we have lately had to deplore, have occurred not among celibates, but among married missionaries and widowers. 4. That

[1] *Peking to Petersburg*, 1897, Arnot Reid, p. 79.

[2] "The Great Missionary Failure" (*Fortnightly Review*, October 1888), Rev. Canon Taylor, p. 498.

[3] *The Modern Missionary Century*, 1901, Arthur T. Pierson, p. 171.

St Peter was a married man. It is replied that St Paul, a much more successful missionary, was a celibate. 5. That celibates get restless, and come home after a few years. The answer is that married missionaries constantly resign because the climate does not suit their wives, or because the wives do not wish to be separated from their children. With a married couple the chance of necessary resignation on the ground of health is obviously increased. 6. The real argument for married missionaries is not usually avowed. It is that the [Church Missionary] Society cannot get the requisite number of men without offering the opportunity of early marriage as a bribe. The reply is that the Universities Mission does get men who are willing to go out as celibates. Therefore they get, so to speak, the pick of the missionary market; they get men, zealous, devoted, single-hearted, free from the least suspicion of the taint of worldly motive. . . . Doubtless the celibacy of the Roman Catholic missionaries affords an explanation of the small cost at which they are conducted, and probably also of their comparative success."[1]

"It is openly asserted, and not disputed," wrote the Hon. Secretary to the Canterbury Board of Missions, "that many persons have become missionaries to enable them to marry early."[2] Indeed, "one missionary told me that he married on the very day of his Ordination, and he seemed to think he had done a clever thing in becoming *Reverendus et Benedictus* at the same time."[3] "My husband," Mrs Nevius tells us, "regarded it as of great importance, that young missionaries should, for their first year, be free from housekeeping and housebuilding cares, and he always regretted the recklessness, not to say obstinacy, with

[1] "Missionary Finance" (*Fortnightly Review*, November 1888), Rev. Canon Taylor, pp. 588-9.

[2] *The Gospel Message*, 1896, Robert Needham Cust, LL.D., p. 92.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

which, in their inexperience they would sometimes assume these cares."[1]

We may here note another difficulty specially affecting China. The late Mrs Bishop, we are told, "urged the inexpediency of sending out *fiancées* to be married at once to missionaries in China, as the young wife's ignorance of the people subjected her to many inconveniences, and interfered with her husband's efficiency. She thought that such *fiancées* should be a year or two in China, living with senior missionaries to study the language and customs of the land, before marriage. She praised the arrangement of the China Inland Mission which secures this, while recognising the greater difficulty experienced by the Church Missionary Society in adopting the plan, owing to its missionaries being in provinces where different languages and dialects are spoken, so that a *fiancée* cannot easily be placed very far distant from the missionary she is engaged to, although such distance is highly desirable in view of the Chinese feeling of propriety with regard to betrothed people."[2] It is, no doubt, in consequence of this feeling, that the regulations of the China Inland Mission contain a caution to "engaged people" to be guarded in their intercourse. But, as Mr Gundry observes, "such matters are beyond printed rules."[3]

And now, Dr Cust—than whom, as a Secretary to a Board of Missions, no one has had a better opportunity of observation; and who has, moreover, given us the result of his own personal experience of the advantages of celibacy in dealing with natives, even as a layman—will enlighten us as to how matrimony affects the work of the missionary. Well does he remark:—"No one but a member of a Missionary Committee could imagine the state of affairs."[4]

[1] *Life of John Livingstone Nevius*, 1895, Helen S. Coan Nevius, p. 136.
[2] *The Life of Isabella Bird* (Mrs Bishop), 1906, Anna M. Stoddart, p. 337.
[3] *China present and past*, 1895, R. S. Gundry, p. 245.
[4] *The Gospel Message*, 1896, Robert Needham Cust, LL.D., p. 87.

"England," says the Doctor, "is becoming strewed with 'returned-empty bottles,' men who have turned back from the plough, forgotten their first love [the Missions], because their wives were sick. I have heard orders passed in Committee to send for missionaries from distant stations in the field to come home to England to their sick wives. Even Bishops are not free from this weakness. One Colonial Bishop left his duty because his wife was sick, and another because his daughter was dying. . . . I read of missionaries leaving their field to visit a sick parent after only two years' absence . . . of husbands leaving important stations, abandoning their flocks, to accompany a wife home at the expense of a Society."[1]

"What shall be thought of such expressions as this in a Missionary Report last year [1895]? 'Mr —— has felt *obliged* [italics his] to return home for a lengthened absence from the mission, as his wife's health precluded her from joining him.' . . .[2] I heard a member of a committee remark with regard to an agent of a Missionary Society, who had a sick wife in England, that it was wrong of the committee not to allow him to come home every year to comfort her, arguing that the duties of husband and wife were paramount to the duty *previously assumed* [italics his] to preach the Gospel. If this be conceded, absolute celibacy must become the condition of Mission Service.[3] . . . In one Missionary Periodical I read how an enterprise to West Africa was 'crowned' by the marriage of two of the missionaries."[4]

Instances of the above are not wanting in China, *e.g.*, "The ill-health of Mrs W. and one of her children, compelled her to leave the field in February 1856. Dr W. followed the next year. Mrs W.'s health continuing poor for some time, they never returned to the

[1] *The Gospel Message*, 1896, Robert Needham Cust, LL.D., p. 86.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 90.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 92.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

field."[1] In 1859, Mr Burns tells us, the missionary staff at Foochow was much weakened by the return home of Mr and Mrs F. of the Church Missionary Society, on account of the bad health of Mrs F. "Mr F.," continues Mr Burns, "who came out in the beginning of 1859, is obliged to remove when he has just become prepared to be an effective labourer."[2] Of the French Protestant Mission we learn:—"So terrible a blow to M. B—— was the loss of his young wife, that, almost heart-broken he left for his home in the South of France. M. R——, unable to carry on the work single-handed, grew despondent, and sympathising so deeply with his friend, decided to return with him to France. Thus ended the French Protestant Mission in Shantung."[3] After the riots in Chentu in 1895, "on arrival at the coast, one missionary was ordered home to Canada because of his wife's nervous breakdown."[4] "By the time my dear child was somewhat recovered, fresh difficulties arose, the state of Mrs C.'s health requiring her immediate return to England, and that of Mr C. The infant Church to which he had ministered imperatively called for supervision. Mr W. had, therefore, to leave the needy province of Gan-Hwuy and give himself to that important work."[5]

To return to Dr Cust:—"The grand story of the Gospel to the Heathen is interrupted by perpetual harping on the 'wife and baby' theme. . . .[6] In a really interesting account of the German Leper Asylum at Jerusalem, and excellent remarks about the Spiritual state of the poor sufferers, we come to this bathos: 'On

[1] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, 1907, D. MacGillivray, p. 344.

[2] *Glimpses of Missionary Work in China*, 1860. Section by W. C. Burns, p. 59.

[3] *Shantung*, 1891, Alexander Armstrong, F.E.I.S., pp. 137-8.

[4] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, p. 114.

[5] *The Story of the China Inland Mission*, 1900, M. Geraldine Guinness, vol. i., pp. 414-5.

[6] *The Gospel Message*, p. 87.

the 9th of February we were rejoiced with the birth of a little son, and gave him the name of John.'[1] . . . The birth and death of a baby seems to excite more interest, and certainly happens much oftener, than the conversion of a heathen! We have long accounts in some reports of a 'little Jack,' sad words over the death of a 'little Robbie.' . . . Think of the scorn of the Atheist, and the contempt of the Roman Catholic Missionary, at the style of such notices."[2]

"I went with a lady missionary to visit the missionary station at Fusan," says Mr Joseph Walton, M.P. . . . "We found the missionary nursing a baby, his wife being ill. He was much exercised in his mind about his domestic affairs, having been robbed of money on two preceding days by his Korean servants. We saw two other lady missionaries there. I suggested that as our time was limited, and as I was very anxious to get reliable information from those who view matters from different standpoints, the missionary might perhaps stroll back with me to the landing-place and give me further information, but the situation of his domestic affairs prevented. For the life of me, I could not understand why one of the two lady missionaries should not have taken the baby, and the other been placed for half an hour on watch and guard against robbers."[3]

From a missionary publication we extract the following concerning the Persian Mission:—"Homeward bound. Diary of Rev. —— of the C.M.S., 1893. 'We left Julfa to-day for our homeward journey. . . . Our caravan consists of ten mules, two for my takht-i-ravan, which somewhat resembles a child's Noah's ark with shafts at each end; one mule for Fanny's (my wife's) kajaveh, which looks like two huge dog-kennels tied together, and hung pannier-wise over the back of the mule; two mules for our servants Zachary and Nicoll;

[1] *The Gospel Message*, pp. 87-8. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[3] *China and the Present Crisis*, 1900, Joseph Walton, M.P., pp. 291-2.

two for travelling beds, provisions, etc., for the journey; and three for the boxes we are taking home to England. . . . Baby's socks and the brush for cleaning her bottles were lost last night, and my medicine glass was broken; the children had both caught cold, and altogether the commencement of our long journey was rather a trying one. We have begun to march with our whole caravan, including the four muleteers—Ahmed Aga, the owner of the mules and his assistants, Ali Ackbar, Kuli, and Tukki, with their three donkeys. Douglas goes with me in the takht-i-ravan, baby (Isabel) seven months, with Fanny and three small Persian kittens, and our two servants on their mules. . . . At Mazzar we got a very small stuffy little room downstairs in the Chapar Khaneh or post-house. It was very dark and full of flies, which was a great trial, and the thermometer was up to 84°; so we were not very comfortable, and we were unable to get milk or eggs. We have brought with us a limited quantity of condensed milk to make baby's bottles and arrowroot, so that her supply is assured; but for our own tea, etc., we are dependent on the milk supply on the road. . . ."[1]

In considering the unnecessary danger to which female life and honour are exposed in solitary advanced stations, "which ought to have been occupied by men alone"; and instancing the revolt against the Germans in Eastern Africa, in which some of the women were incapacitated for movement by the state of their health, or their babies; Dr Cust asks:—"Why were they there? . . . Why should soldiers, sent out to fight the Lord's battles, encumber themselves?"[2]

This aspect of the matter has been abundantly illustrated in China. Of the riots in Chengtu (Sze-Chuen) in 1895, a missionary tells us: "We beat an orderly but hasty retreat to our hospital compound . . .

[1] *The Reaper* (January 1896), p. 7.
[2] *The Gospel Message*, p. 85.

there we rejoined our wives and children . . . covered by the darkness, we crawled one by one through one of the holes broken by the stones of the rioters in the hospital gates. The two ladies and we three men, carrying three children amongst us, ran along the now comparatively quiet street to the parade ground. Dr ——'s third child was in the hands of a Christian nurse, but she became separated from us on the street. . . . Some of the rioters discovered that she was carrying a foreign child; they caught her by the hair, and began beating her. She dropped the child, and managed to escape from them. A few minutes later, the hospital gateman discovered a child sitting alone in the dark street and crying. . . . Our only hope therefore lay in concealment, and in a moment we had darted through an open door and into the back room of a little two-roomed mat-house. The three ladies, Mr —— and myself, besides three children . . . in all eight persons, packed ourselves into a small Chinese bed."[1]

Matters elsewhere in Chengtu were no more hopeful. Thirty-one foreigners, all homeless and destitute, were in the Prefect's yamên [office]. "In the midst of all this, one of the ladies was prematurely confined. There was a plethora of medical assistance within the yamên, but not a drug, not a rag, not even a pin among them." One of the doctors sallied forth, and meeting one of the rioters, bought back a bottle of carbolic looted from his own hospital. But for this, in the abnormal heat, the poor lady could not have survived.[2]

"In 1895, all the missionaries were driven out of Chentu," another tells us. "No less than thirteen little children sharing—with their parents—in suffering for the sake of the Gospel."[3] Again: "The little

[1] *A History of the Sze-Chuen Riots* (May, June 1895), Alfred Cunningham, pp. xxiv.-v.-vi.

[2] *The Land of the Blue Gown*, 1902, Mrs Archibald Little, p. 234.

[3] *Life in West China*, 1905, Robert J. Davidson and Isaac Mason, p. 157.

baby arrived 'more dead than alive,' early a sufferer for the sake of the Gospel."[1] And, to finish with Chentu, here is a piece of childish experience: "One little girl, the daughter of a fellow-missionary in the city, was found one day with her pocket stuffed full of handkerchiefs. When asked why she had taken so many, the child replied, 'I thought they would be handy if we had to run again to the yamên for safety.'"[2]

A few months later, Mrs Bishop, travelling in Sze-Chuan, met "Mr and Mrs —— of the China Inland Mission . . . he very ill of malarial fever. They had been swept out of Chengtu in the riots, losing all their possessions, and with this infant had been moving for seven months," during which time they had never been in one place more than twelve days. . . . "Mr ——'s house at Kuan Hsien had just been attacked by burglars, and between the terror caused by this, and the hostile cries in the streets, which they understood too well, his delicate, sensitive young daughters, one of them twelve years old, had become so thoroughly nervous, that the only possible cure was to take them home. I saw several ladies in Western China who, after escaping from mobs with their young children, were affected in the same way."[3]

From Fuh-kien, in the same year, we learn:—"The late Rev. and Mrs Stewart's baby, thirteen months old, whose skull was fractured during the recent massacre of English missionaries at Kucheng, has succumbed to the frightful injuries he received at the hands of the mob, and will be buried in the cemetery at the port this evening. Miss Mildred Stewart, aged twelve, is in a very critical condition." The Stewart family comprised, besides the parents, six children. The father, mother, and one daughter were killed outright; the baby done

[1] *Life in West China*, 1905, Robert J. Davidson and Isaac Mason, p. 171. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

[3] *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 1899, Mrs J. F. Bishop, F.R.G.S., pp. 323-4.

to death as related above; a boy of six died thirty hours later of injuries received; the remaining three were more or less badly hurt; while the nurse was burned to death in the house.[1]

At Fen-chow Fu, during the Boxer Rising, "the Governor of Shansi sent orders to expel the foreigners. . . . Mrs A—— was about to be confined, and the missionaries asked that their departure might be postponed on this account, but the request was refused." The missionaries were killed by the Chinese guard.[2] Sundry other cases are on record at the time of this Rising, where ladies were expecting their confinement.[3]

In the face of such experience as this, and much more, the most ardent advocate of a married Missionary Service might be expected to agree with Dr Cust that "it is all nonsense to say that the presence of children in missionary work aids the prosecution of the work of evangelisation. One enthusiastic missionary's wife tells us that peace was immediately made betwixt belligerent natives at the sight of a mother and her baby. If that were the case, we should have to go to the other extreme, and rule that no unmarried missionaries, or barren wives of missionaries, or missionaries whose families are grown up, should be allowed."[4]

China, as usual, affords us examples of theory and practice. Says Miss Williams:—"Many of our numbers came in to see the 'foreign babies.' I am sure the little ones help to break down any prejudice which the people may have against us, and create a feeling of friendliness among them."[5] Says an official

[1] *The Kucheng Massacre*, 1895, *Hong Kong Telegraph* Office, pp. 1 and 3.

[2] Parliamentary Paper, China (5), 1901, p. 37.

[3] *Fire and Sword in Shansi*, 1903, E. H. Edwards, M.B., C.M., pp. 88, 93, 105, 106.

[4] *The Gospel Message*, p. 86.

[5] *A New Thing* (Incidents of Missionary Life in China), 1895, Miss F. M. Williams, p. 134.

paper five years later :—"At Chang Shan, Mrs W——, wife of a missionary, was killed with her baby at her breast, which was pinned by a knife to its mother."[1] And, however advantageous the presence of an infant may have been elsewhere in time of danger, one seems to have been within an inch of costing its friends their lives in Honan in 1900. "One missionary whom I met," Colonel Scott Moncrieff tells us, "represented a party who had lived in a loft for five days, while their enemies were searching for them below. The slightest noise would have betrayed them, and one of the party was a baby a month old!"[2]

In the Boxer Rising, eleven missionary societies in Shansi, Chi-li, Chekiang, and Shantung lost 188 persons, of whom 53 were children. The China Inland Mission lost 25 men, 33 ladies, and 21 children.[3]

There is another way of looking at this question, which perhaps has not received the consideration it deserves, viz., "that in some ways the life of the married missionary is often one of greater self-denial than that of the celibate; the latter has to suffer only in himself, the former also in his wife and children, which is harder"; but Rev. Alan Gibson seems to have misgivings on the subject, for he adds: "When this has been premised, surely the intending missionary should be urged to ponder well the words of Christ, 'He that is able to receive it, let him receive it'; for the arguments in favour of celibacy are enormously strong."[4]

We may now consider the question of expense. Among the matters discussed at the Missionary Congress, in London, in 1888, Dr Cust mentions "the early marriages, perhaps at the age of twenty-three

[1] China (6), 1901, p. 106.

[2] *Eastern Missions from a Soldier's Standpoint*, 1907, Colonel G. K. Scott Moncrieff, C.I.E., p. 96.

[3] *China, etc.*, 1904, Captain F. Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 203.

[4] *Missionary Work*, 1893, Rev. Alan G. S. Gibson, M.A., pp. 17-8.

(when no young doctor, lawyer, or professional man would think of such things), the heavy charges to the Society for passage-money and maintenance, the crowding of the Home of Missionary Children, the diverting of the sacred funds contributed to evangelise the heathen to the lower objects of maintaining Schools for Missionary Children, and pensions for widows, when neither widow nor child ought to have come into existence, as the missionary ought in his youth, in his strength, to have had no thought but the necessity laid upon him to convert the heathen. He cannot have read the Epistle of St Paul rightly, if he could think of earthly love with the cry of the heathen ringing in his ears.[1] . . . What makes the subject more grotesque is, that a young missionary, not long ago, started a new idea of associated evangelists to conduct work on much more economical methods, and, of course, celibates; but while his plans were maturing, he met a young girl, married her, and took her out into the association, and she died a few years afterwards."[2] "A missionary writes that he must have a larger allowance, because he has two grandmothers and a baby to feed."[3] "'I married,' said a German missionary, 'at the age of forty, and had twelve children, if I had married at twenty-three, I could hardly have had more'; in fact," adds the Doctor, "missionaries are a very prolific class."[4] Hence, we learn from Mr Hogg, that at Chefoo, "schools for the children of missionaries soon became a pressing need."[5]

It appears that the income of the Church Missionary Society, for the year 1905-6, amounted to £391,910—£46,000 more than the year before—while the expenditure was £382,600.[6] It may have been the sight of figures like these that led "A Chinese," in a letter to the

[1] *The Gospel Message*, p. 37.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 87.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[5] *The Chinese Empire*, 1907, in section by C. F. Hogg, p. 100.
[6] *The Times*, 2nd May 1906.

North China Daily News of 21st July 1891, to describe missionary enterprise in his own country as "a huge scheme of charity for the benefit of unemployed professional persons from Europe and America."[1] But whether or no, this sum does not appear to be sufficient, since it was resolved at the annual meeting in 1906:— "That this meeting, gratefully and humbly acknowledging the goodness of God in the increased funds, and especially in a larger number of offers of service than in any previous year, would regard these facts, together with the expanding opportunities and urgent claims of the non-Christian world, as evidences of the Divine Will that the Society should vigorously press forward in the work of evangelisation, and they call upon all its friends for earnest efforts to promote greater self-sacrifice in the Lord's cause, etc."[2]

Some years before, Canon Taylor expressed his opinion that "it is the system of married missionaries that makes the Church Missionary Society so costly. For the same sum the Universities Mission is able to employ four times as many missionaries, and presumably to do four times as much work. If the Church Missionary Society were to adopt the rules and financial methods of the Universities Mission, probably more than £200,000 a year would be set free for additional effort."[3] "Last year [1887]," the reverend gentleman notes, "in China, 247 agents of the same society spent £14,875, 3s. in making 167 converts out of a population of 382,000,000."[4]

Concerning Indian missions conducted by societies where matrimony is allowed, Dr Cust tells us, "a scale of something of this kind may be assumed: 1. Three

[1] *The Anti-Foreign Riots in China in* 1891, 1892, *North China Herald* Office, p. 108.

[2] *The Times*, 2nd May 1906.

[3] "Missionary Finance" (*Fortnightly Review*, November 1888), Rev. Canon Taylor, p. 588.

[4] "The Great Missionary Failure" (*Fortnightly Review*, October 1888), Rev. Canon Taylor, p. 490.

years at a preparatory school or training college, free from all cost. 2. Pocket-money, clothes, outfit, travelling in England. 3. Passage-money: every kind of expense paid. 4. Railway or travelling expenses in the missionary-field. 5. Books and instructors in languages. 6. Unmarried allowances, 144 rupees *per mensem*. 7. House-rent, furniture, house-servants, conveyances. 8. Medical attendance. 9. Outfit for wife, passage-money, additional furniture, *toties quoties*. 10. Additional married allowance, 63 rupees *per mensem*. 11. Medical charges for confinement, surgical expenses, a repeating item. 12. Allowance for each child, passage-money of sending them out to the field, when adults. 13. Furlough, passage, allowances, to and fro. 14. Children's Home up to age of sixteen, final grant. 15. Renewal of outfit, furniture, and conveyance on return to field. 16. Retiring allowance, closing grants, pensions to widows."[1]

"And when a committee of management tries to enforce stricter rules, gently to draw the reins tighter, when it suggests to a missionary that he should not leave his post to accompany a sick wife to England, when it objects to send out, at the expense of the Society, children of a certain age, who will have to be sent back again in a few years at the expense of the Society, every kind of remonstrance is made." In a letter demanding that "my four-years-old child's passage-money be refunded to me as a *matter of right* [italics in original]," the missionary writer thereof asks: "If money be wasted on luxuries, will the money be blessed that you save, if the hire of the labourers, which is kept back, crieth in the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth?" Dr Cust—to whom the letter was addressed—remarks that, "to have sent that child out, and brought it back in a few years, would have cost more than the united collections of six average English parishes for the purpose of evangelising the heathen."[2]

[1] *The Gospel Message*, p. 91. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

"Collections are made in churches under the influence of prayer," continues the Doctor; "little children bring their pennies, and collecting boxes are handed about: it is not right that early marriages should be tolerated. . . . As it is now, vast sums contributed for the conversion of the heathen never get out of England. I anticipate the date when contributions will be labelled, 'not to be spent in Homes for children, or for any purpose not *directly* connected with the evangelisation of the non-Christian world,' and who can pretend that the maintenance of the young family of a young couple can have any relation to the preaching of the Gospel? . . ."[1]

Further:—"Some portions of the type of these great apostles [St Patrick, St Columba, and St Aidan] have clung to the modern Religious Orders of the Church of Rome: the Protestant missionary has fallen entirely from the ideal: he must have a wife at puberty, and a family supported by alms of the Churches: he must have salaries, houses, comforts, conveyances, pensions, and thousands spent on the education of his children; he considers himself to be at liberty to be educated at the expense of the Churches, and spend a few years in the foreign field, and then for his own convenience, or because a wife or one of his numerous children is sick, to leave his flock, and perhaps never return, because something more comfortable is available in Great Britain."[2]

In spite of his experiences, however, Dr Cust has "nothing to say, except to express my aversion to any form of vow to the Lord of celibacy for a term of years, or for a life-time, and to any scheme of possible absolution from such vows by a Bishop or anybody else. I ask no more than that which was demanded from the Fellows of Colleges in former years, that for a stipulated term of years, say, ten from the date of their entering upon their Ordination, they should not marry.

[1] *The Gospel Message*, p. 91-2. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

After the age of, say, thirty, they should be free to do as they may wish. As regards the woman-worker in the field, on her I would place no limit of time at all. I must leave it to her conscience after a perusal of 1 Cor. vii. 34."[1]

The London Missionary Society, according to Dr Lawrence, were prepared, some years ago, to go a step further, and only employ unmarried missionaries under protest, as it were, *e.g.*: "While recognising the expediency of employing in special circumstances, and for a limited time, unmarried men as missionaries, the committee emphatically endorse the opinion expressed to them very decidedly by some of our most experienced missionaries, that the labour and influence of missionaries' wives, and the wholesome and happy example of Christian home life, are among the most important means of successful missionary effort."[2] Many things have happened since that resolution was passed, and as Dr Lawrence quotes with approval the opinion that "it has pleased God that even Mission Boards shall be able to learn by experience,"[3] it may be that we shall hear of them applying, some day, to the marriage of Christian missionaries of every age, what Dr Cust only applies to the younger of them:— "Setting aside the extreme improvidence from a worldly point of view, it is not Mission Service: there is nothing of the grace of self-denial and self-sacrifice. In the Acts of the Apostles, in the early history of the Christian Church (before the introduction of enforced celibacy of the Roman Church), we find nothing to warrant the idea, that a man must be married to be a missionary. If the young aspirant to the high office cannot rise to the level of his vocation, is not equal to the task, and considers matrimony a necessary ingredient of Gospel-preaching, he had better select some other profession."[4]

[1] *The Gospel Message*, p. 82.

[2] *Modern Missions in the East*, 1895, Edward A. Lawrence, D.D., p. 211.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

[4] *The Gospel Message*, 1896, Robert Needham Cust, LL.D., Hon. Secretary to the Canterbury Board of Missions, p. 87.

PART II

CHINA AND THE CHRISTIAN NATIONS

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CHAPTER I

THE EDUCATION OF CHINA

"The general opinion prevalent in the West is that the exclusive and anti-foreign feeling now met with in China is something peculiar to the Chinese character, and dating from remote antiquity. It is probable, however, that it was the conquering race, the Manchus, who forced this spirit upon the Chinese people, which led to the attempt, so long maintained, to hermetically seal the Empire against the intrusion of the foreigner. . . . Before the advent of the Manchus, China maintained constant relations with the countries of Asia; traders from Arabia, Persia, and India, trafficked in Chinese ports, and passed into the interior. The tablet of Sian-fu,[1] already mentioned, shows that missionaries from the West were propagating the Christian Religion in the eighth century; in the thirteenth Marco Polo not only was cordially received, but held office in the Empire, and at that time the Christian religious ceremonies were tolerated at Peking, where there was an Archbishop. To the close of the last Chinese dynasty, the Jesuit missionaries were well received and treated at the capital, and, as Huc remarks, the first Tartar Emperors merely tolerated what they found existing. This would seem to show conclusively that the Chinese did not originally have the aversion to foreigners which is usually assumed."[2]

[1] A stone, date A.D. 781, inscribed in Chinese and Syriac, excavated in 1625, and, till lately, to be found in the yard of a temple at Sian-fu.

[2] *China in Transformation*, 1898, Archibald R. Colquhoun, pp. 34-5.

"The earlier dynasties of the Chinese," says Mr Boulger, "were not naturally averse to foreign intercourse. The foreign merchant not merely brought the rare and curious things of his own land; his very presence sufficed to prove the fame of the Chinese ruler in other countries. The borders of the Chinese Empire were well protected, both on the land side and on the seaboard, and there was nothing in the appearance or resources of the strangers to suggest the idea of superiority over the people of the Middle Kingdom. Yet, even under these circumstances, the habitual caution of the Chinese prevented their allowing foreigners to enter the Empire except at one point, which was generally the great southern harbour of Canton."[1]

This being so, it will be profitable to investigate how far the conduct of Christian nations has been calculated to promote good feeling between the East and West, or the reverse.

Captain Brinkley informs us that Portuguese trading expeditions were kindly received in Canton, in 1516 and 1517. In the year following, a third one was expelled in consequence of "rapine and violence." The squadron "continued to infest the Chinese coast as pirates." Their trade was marked by "extreme lawlessness"; and their exploits included the rifling of the tombs of "seventeen Chinese Kings," and raids for the capture of "women and virgins." The Portuguese were finally driven from the mainland in 1549, "by conduct of which, had the Chinese themselves been guilty of it, no condemnation would have been found too strong."[2]

China's acquaintance with Holland commenced in 1601, and the manner of it is thus narrated:—". . . first an armed essay on the part of the Dutch to drive

[1] *Central Asian Questions*, 1885, Demetrius C. Boulger, p. 316.

[2] *China, Its History, Arts, and Literature*, 1904, Capt. F. Brinkley, vol. x., pp. 170-1-2-3-4.

the Portuguese from a place in China [Macao] which the latter had leased to them; and secondly with the forceful seizure of another place in China's territory [the Pescadores, afterwards changed for Formosa], though no state of war existed, nor even any cause of quarrel. . . . An intercourse commenced in rapine and aggression towards a nation which had never provoked them, was continued by fruitless obsequiousness"[1]—this in reference to the compliance by the Dutch envoys with the demands of Chinese etiquette in the matter of prostrations, etc. Nor does the personal appearance of the visitors from the Low Countries appear to have impressed their hosts. A Chinese writer thus describes one body of Europeans who reached Canton about 1506:—"At about this time also the Hollanders, who in ancient times inhabited a wild territory, and had no intercourse with China, came to Macao in two or three large ships. Their clothes and their hair were red, their bodies tall, they had blue eyes sunk deep into their heads. Their feet were one cubit and two-tenths long, and they frightened people by their strange appearance."[2]

"England introduced herself to the Chinese in an essentially bellicose character, and long retained it." In 1637, an expedition under Captain Weddel arrived. Jealousy on the part of the Portuguese led to misunderstanding by the Chinese, who opened fire on an English boat. The fort—on the Canton River—was bombarded, after which "there was the usual sequel—a landing party, the dismantling of the fort, and the 'demolition of what they could.'" Eventually, the Chinese agreed to trade, and the British to restore junks, guns, etc.

In 1670, England opened trade in Formosa "by means of a treaty with the ex-pirate Koxinga," the "King of the island." At the mainland port with

[1] Brinkley, vol. x., pp. 180-1-2-3.

[2] *China's past and future*, 1904, Hon. Chester Holcombe, p. 133.

which the trade of Formosa was carried on, Amoy, it was opposed by the Chinese Government—not unreasonably, as the English figured as the "commercial allies of a pirate who defied Chinese authority, and had forcibly possessed himself of a portion of Chinese territory."[1]

"The impression made by the unscrupulous aggressions of European adventurers, is well set forth in the fictitious narrative called *The Magic Carpet*, written by a Chinese author two centuries ago," says Dr Martin. "'In the days of the Ming dynasty,' says this Oriental apologue, 'a ship of the red-haired barbarians came to one of our southern seaports, and requested permission to trade. This being refused, the strangers begged to be allowed the use of so much ground as they could cover with a carpet, for the purpose of drying their goods. Their petition was granted; and taking the carpet by the corners, they stretched it, until there was room for a large body of men, who, drawing their swords, took possession of the city.'"[2]

The absence of any anti-foreign sentiment in the interior of China in the early part of the eighteenth century is commented on by Captain Brinkley. Speaking of the period about 1724 he remarks:—"At no time were there fewer than forty priests in the country. The presence of these men must have been known to thousands upon thousands of people outside the circle of their converts. In travelling to and from their stations, in their religious ministrations, in their daily lives however secluded, it is impossible that their identity can have been concealed. Yet, with exceptions so rare as to prove the rule, the people never betrayed them. On the part of their converts fidelity might have been expected. But that the men and women whom they called 'Heathens' and 'Pagans'

[1] Brinkley, vol. x., pp. 187-8-9, 90.

[2] *A Cycle of Cathay*, 1896, W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D., p. 20.

should have refrained from betraying them, indicates a mood very different from the bitter anti-foreign sentiment now attributed to the Chinese nation in general. The fact already deduced from independent records is here strongly confirmed, that outside the narrow areas where the abuses of mediæval trade, and the violence of mediæval traders, created a special atmosphere of passion, no animosity was harboured against foreigners."[1]

In 1802, and again in 1808, an English force was thrown into Macao to protect the place on Portugal's behalf against the danger of a French attack—though the Chinese, on the first occasion, made it perfectly clear that Macao had never been ceded to Portugal, only rented to her. An attack on Canton, we are told, seemed imminent at one moment of this complication, which is thus summed up by our Author :—"To effect military occupation of a portion of a friendly State's territory, and then to threaten an act of open warfare because the State's officials decline to admit the propriety of the occupation—these are proceedings which would create some surprise were they adopted in Europe. But China being their victim, no one found them at all abnormal." They had a consistent sequel, thus described :—"The river at Canton converted into an arena of belligerent operations by British and American ships; the Chinese remonstrating against such a flagrant breach of international law, and being told placidly that it could not be cured and must be endured; their attempts to assert their national rights by hampering the trade; the foreign merchants retaliating by stopping the trade altogether; and finally, the Chinese, who were the wronged party throughout, being compelled to make many concessions in order that the foreigner might consent to resume the business which alone held him in Canton."[2]

In 1816 an embassy was sent to Peking under Lord

[1] Brinkley, vol. xi., p. 140. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. x., pp. 209-10-11.

Amherst. When his Lordship reached Canton on his return journey, he found that H.M.S. *Alceste*, which was to convey him to England—being dissatisfied with the berth assigned to her, and having moved up the river, and been met with some futile fire from the war-junks and forts—had "silenced the former with a shot," and "sent the garrison of the latter scampering with a broadside." . . . "Still," says Captain Brinkley, "it is unusual to read in history, that while an ambassador is visiting the court of a friendly country, the ship by which he reached her shores is engaged in acts of warfare against her fleet and forts."[1]

In 1820 and 1821, in consequence of fierce attacks made by natives on watering-parties of British sailors, and other disturbances, fresh attempts were made by the Canton authorities to restrict foreign intercourse. The attacks were the natural consequences of what had happened before, and showed that "a new mood was beginning to sway the hitherto pacific natives of Canton."[2]

In 1832, the East India Company in an attempt "to extend the tradal area beyond Canton," fitted up the *Amherst* "suitably" by loading her with miscellaneous goods, giving her a simulated character, and investing her officers with fictitious titles. She was hospitably received, but trade declined. "Some of the officers of government were civil and forbearing, and even accepted small presents; others less condescending were fairly bullied by the people in the *Amherst*, their junks boarded, or their doors knocked down and their quarters invaded." The expedition failed.[3]

In 1835, Mr W. H. Medhurst went into the interior. He wrote:—"Thus we have gone through various parts of four provinces, and many villages, giving away about 18,000 volumes, of which 6000 were portions of the Scriptures, among a cheerful and willing

[1] Brinkley, vol. x., pp. 214-5.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 215-6. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 216-7.

people without meeting with the least aggression or injury; having been always received by the people with a cheerful smile, and most generally by the officers with politeness and respect."[1]

In 1837, Mr Gutzlaff penetrated farther into the interior. "He too found everywhere a cheerful, polite reception, and the mandarins left him severely alone. His verdict was, 'The farther from the coast, the more the moral condition of the people seems to improve, and the greater the interest they take in our books.' Every reader must at once be struck," says Captain Brinkley, "by the fact that, while the people in and about Canton were calling foreigners 'devils,' and stoning or bambooing them whenever opportunity offered, the people in other districts treated them with courtesy, geniality, respect, and even friendship."[2]

In the same year the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Eastern Asia addressed a "Letter to the British Public on the Advisability of the Occupation of the Bonin Islands," in the course of which he wrote:—"It is sometimes contended that the Chinese have a right to lay what restrictions they think proper upon their trade with foreigners; and to drive them from their shores as often as they choose; whoever does not like these terms may go elsewhere in quest of better. But the question that demands an answer does not seem to be what *right* they have to *perplex commercial dealings* [italics his] which they themselves have encouraged, or to treat us on all public occasions as destitute, unprincipled men; but whether it be not advisable to take such steps as may sooner or later convince them that their opinion of us is erroneous, however flattering it may be to their pride and vanity to cherish it? The justice of declaring war against them would be questioned by many; and an embassy, unless it were conducted with a degree of firmness and resolution far different from any of its predecessors,

[1] Brinkley, vol. x., p. 225. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 228.

would prove, like them, a melancholy failure." Whence the writer proceeds to urge the occupation of the Bonin Islands as a base for trade and religion.[1]

During 1840-1-2, China was engaged in a war with this country, of which the remote origin was "Great Britain's failure to organise any machinery for the control of her nationals trading in China, and secondarily in her objection to their control by Chinese machinery." The proximate cause was "an ill-judged attempt on the part of the Chinese to terminate by hasty and heroic measures a trade [opium] which had attained large dimensions through the corrupt connivance of her own officials. Morally the Chinese were altogether in the right. Tactically they blundered."[2] The same opinion seems to have been formed by Dr Rennie. "There are," he tells us, "strong grounds for believing that in almost every dispute which arises between ourselves and the Chinese we are, in the first instance in the wrong; but unfortunately the Chinese equally invariably adopt the wrong method of putting matters right, and by the time the case becomes one for consular legislation, the original wrong committed by us is entirely lost sight of, and the accumulated errors of the Chinese alone made the subject of consideration; consequently, as a general rule, they get the worst of such appeals."[3]

The war cost China, *inter alia*, $21,000,000; Hong-Kong; and the opening of five ports to trade. The opium question was entirely ignored.[4] "But for opium-smuggling by British subjects the war would never have taken place, so far as human intelligence can discern. . . . It is impossible to doubt that had opium been an insignificant article of commerce, a country where the public conscience is so highly developed as it is in

[1] *Trade with China*, 1837, G. Tradescant Lay, pp. 5-6.

[2] Brinkley, vol. xi., p. 12.

[3] *Peking and the Pekingese*, 1865, Dr D. F. Rennie, M.D., vol. i., pp. 134-5.

[4] Brinkley, vol. xi., p. 37.

England, would never have officially associated itself with such a traffic, or questioned China's right to crush it by the exercise of any measures however drastic."[1]

In 1847, a mob at Fatshan stoned six Englishmen—who were rescued by Chinese officials, who suffered severely in the effort. The consequences of this, and "the trumpet-toned instructions of Lord Palmerston," were that "without any superfluous diplomatic preliminaries, such as formulating demands and awaiting rejoinders," troops were ordered from Hong-Kong, who passing up the Pearl River, bombarded the forts, fired the magazines, spiked 827 cannon, and held the city of Canton *en prise*, no resistance being offered by the Chinese. "The British Government did not approve of this singular foray. But it must be confessed that their disapproval was directed against its rashness rather than against its immorality. Such a small force, they objected, might have encouraged the Chinese to resistance."[2]

Concerning Shanghai in 1848, Sir Rutherford Alcock reported: "Our relations with the people and the authorities leave little to be desired."[3]

About this time three missionaries were "badly beaten and robbed." The Chinese authorities were notified that payment of customs duties by foreigners would be suspended until the guilty parties were arrested and punished; and a blockade of the river was declared. "These extraordinarily resolute steps did not move the Chinese . . . nor did it appear that the Consul's demands for redress would have been satisfied, had he not sent an official in a sloop of war to lay a complaint direct before the Viceroy at Nanking. Then the local authorities yielded at once. Ten persons were apprehended, and several of them having been identified by the missionaries as their assailants, they were all adequately punished. . . . Success was achieved, not by a display of force, but by an appeal to the Viceroy."[4]

[1] Brinkley, vol. xi., p. 14.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 187-8-9.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 195-6.

In 1852, Consul Alcock declared that "a progressive and evident deterioration" had taken place in the foreigner's position, and avowed his "firm persuasion that the time had arrived for energetic action." "It will occur to the reader," says Captain Brinkley, "that in Shanghai's case, as in Canton's, closer acquaintance with the foreigner and his ways had tended to alienate native goodwill, and that in both places alike the original friendliness of the people was converted into hostility by cognate causes. Doubtless that is true to some extent, and it is also true that the 'progressive and evident deterioration' noticed by Consul Alcock in 1852, had begun to be perceptible after his own display of force in 1848. But careful study of the facts indicates that the Chinese officials, acting, it must be admitted, in obedience to a natural and perfectly excusable sentiment, sought to create difficulties instead of removing them."[1]

By the treaty of 1843, any vessel trading to Hong-Kong had to be furnished with a pass given by the Chinese authorities. This raised difficulties, because some of these had not the least desire to promote the prosperity of Hong-Kong; others saw an opportunity to enrich themselves; whilst others enforced the rules severely. To meet these difficulties the British authorities granted register to Chinese resident in Hong-Kong, which converted their vessels into British-owned ships. But, in spite of all care, not a few of these ships became smugglers and even pirates. Thus Hong-Kong became a centre for sea-robbers, and a refuge for bad characters. During this "reign of terror"—which lasted till 1867—peaceful trading vessels had to go about armed to the teeth, and in their great straits, the much suffering Chinese began to employ European and American ships to convoy their junks. Sometimes these convoys turned free-booters, and in the inner waters of China, where the

[1] Brinkley, vol. xi., pp. 200-1.

arm of the Consul did not reach, and where the Chinese authorities, warned by bitter experience, declined to lay hands on a foreign malefactor, "excesses of the most shocking and ruthless kind were perpetrated in abundance. . . . The Portuguese stand at the head of this villainous record." They had a fleet of lorchas—vessels of European build but rigged like junks—which, not content with receiving some £70,000 a year for legitimate convoy services, adopted the profession of privateer, made descents upon villages, carried off the women, murdered the men, stole everything portable, burned the houses, and became infinitely greater scourges than the pirates they were paid to repel. Out of this state of affairs arose complications connected with the capture by the Chinese of the lorcha *Arrow*.[1]

1856 brought China yet another war with Great Britain, ostensibly because of the *Arrow* incident, but "really for the purpose of forcing open the city [Canton]."[2] Concerning this, Mr Oliphant remarks:—"These additional demands involved the right for all foreign representatives of free access to the authorities and city of Canton. Hitherto the point has been one simply of principle, and turned on the right of the Chinese Government to seize a lorcha under certain conditions. . . . Moreover, this sudden change of issue rouses the whole suspicious nature of the Chinaman, and he draws an inference somewhat discreditable to us, but not to be wondered at, which he expresses in a proclamation issued to the Cantonese: 'Whereas the English barbarians have commenced disturbances on a false pretence, their real object being admission into the city, the Governor-General referring to the unanimous expression of objection to the measure on the part of the entire population of Canton in 1849, has flatly refused to concede this, and is determined not to

[1] Brinkley, vol. xi., pp. 270-9.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xii., p. 7.

grant the request, let them carry their feats and machinations to what length they will.'"[1]

Great Britain was joined by France, on account of the torturing and beheading of one of her missionaries in Kwangsi, Père Chapdelaine.[2]

Canton was captured in 1857 ; and China being still so unreasonable as to decline "a wider field of contact with persons who had proved themselves the most objectionable neighbours conceivable,"[3] the forts at the mouth of the Pei-ho were also taken. The demands of the Powers were conceded, chief among which were : the establishment of Ministers resident at Peking, accredited to the court of China ; and the right of British subjects to visit the interior for purposes of trade.

Our attitude towards China was well explained by H.M. Minister in his despatch to Lord Malmesbury of 21st May 1859 :—"I hope in this way to compel the Chinese Government to declare itself upon those points which we know are most unpalatable to it ; and if there exists upon its part a disposition to evade its obligations, to thrust us back as before upon the sea-board, and refuse the reception which we cannot waive without lowering our national dignity, I trust we shall be in possession of their views when we arrive at the mouth of the Pei-ho, and not be left to discover them gradually at Pekin. If, as is most probable, the Court of Pekin is wavering, anxious to evade, but unwilling to risk a rupture, I trust that identity of views among the foreign representatives, firm language, and an imposing demonstration of force, will secure the observance by it of recent treaties, and incline it to listen to moderate and pacific advisers."[4]

The question of the Ministers was shelved for a time, as attention concentrated on troubles arising out

[1] *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan*, 1859, Laurence Oliphant, vol. i., pp. 7-8.

[2] Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 11. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[4] Parliamentary Paper, Correspondence with Mr Bruce, etc., 1860, p. 5.

of the ratification of the new Treaty of Tientsin. This was to take place at Peking, whither the envoys desired to proceed *via* Taku. The Chinese, however, desired that they should land at Peh-tang, some miles north; and warned the Powers concerned that any attempt to force the passage of the Pei-ho would be resisted—the forts having been reconstructed in modern style. "Considering the theories that filled the atmosphere of the foreign settlements in China, theories of Chinese proud exclusiveness and unscrupulous deceit, it is easy to understand why the pride of the foreign envoys rebelled against going round by a back door, when the front was barricaded in their face; but to that pride, and not to Chinese 'perfidy,' the consequent catastrophe must be attributed."[1] In 1859, the Taku Forts were attacked, and unsuccessfully. They were taken in the year following; and in the subsequent advance of the British and French forces to Peking, occurred the capture of Mr Parkes, while under a flag of truce. Of his party of thirty-seven, twenty-two succumbed or were killed; and, on their bodies, when brought into the allied camp, "there was sufficient evidence to indicate the barbarous treatment these unhappy men had undergone."[2]

Lord Elgin then ordered the destruction of the Emperor's detached palaces at Yuen-ming Yuen. Sir John Michel describes the scene for us:—"The actual quantity taken away was like a drop in the bucket of what remained and was destroyed. . . . Inside they were walking about smashing with the butt-ends of their muskets beautiful mirrors, clocks, and articles of *vertu* too bulky for removal. The floors were strewn knee-deep with silks and satins which they appeared to have neither the means nor the inclination to remove, their attention being absorbed in seeking for property of more value."[3] In this

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 20. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[3] *Peking and the Pekingese*, 1865, Dr D. F. Rennie, M.D., vol. i., pp. 310-11.

connection Captain Brinkley remarks:—"Even in the eyes of Lord Elgin's countrymen, fully as they may sympathise with his difficult position, it is plain that whatever character of stern pure justice he desired to impart to the burning of the palaces, the act was fatally marred by its antecedents. Had the allies committed no excesses on their march from Peh-tang to Peking, had they abstained from pillage, rapine, and wanton destruction, their motives in making a bonfire of the Yuen-ming Yuen buildings would have become intelligible from its context. But they did not so abstain. At Peh-tang, where the landing was effected, the citizens showed unqualified friendliness."[1] "The people of Peh-tang were most obliging," Lord Wolseley informs us, "and, seemingly, gave every information in their power."[2] "They heard my speech with acclamation," says Mr Consul Parkes, "declaring in reply to my demand whether they wanted to live or die, that they preferred the former; and also that *all* the soldiers had left the place. In proof of this, they were willing, they said, to take me to the forts, and give them over to me, only I must be very careful of the mines with which they were filled."[3]

Not only this, but the citizens received the allies hospitably and supplied them with provisions. Yet the allies sacked the town, pillaging everything they could carry away, and destroying everything immovable.[4] "The town, I am sorry to say," continues Consul Parkes, "is in a sad condition, for it has been thoroughly pillaged by our troops: when I say *our*, I mean the whole force, for I must say that though our men have misbehaved, their excesses have been far surpassed by the French, for the reason that the latter make no

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 32.

[2] *Narrative of the War with China in* 1860, 1862, Lt.-Col. G. J. Wolseley, p. 93.

[3] *Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, 1894, Stanley Lane-Poole, vol. i., p. 352.

[4] Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 32.

attempt to prevent license of any kind, while our Provost Marshal does not spare the whip in the case of our own people. . . . It is useless to tell the people that we will protect them (as *we* did tell them by proclamation when we entered the town), for we don't, and with the French in company, I don't think we can. . . . Peh-tang, just now, presents a wretched spectacle. The people have all left it, and I regret to say a good number, I dare say as many as forty or fifty people, for the most part women, have made away with themselves by poison or suffocation. If we are to leave such terrible traces of our course as these, we shall do ourselves a great deal of harm."[1] "At present," says Dr Rennie, "there is an order against looting, which, however, would seem to be more honoured in the breach than the observance; and the restriction might as well be withdrawn, as far as the interests of the unfortunate owners are concerned; any chance of property of the least value ever finding its way back to them being too remote to be entertained. The silks and furs in the hospital of the 31st are only safe for the time, as their removal would be too overt a violation of a general order, the breach of which on the part of a soldier subjects him to flogging. From all accounts, notwithstanding the poor appearance of the place, a large amount of valuable property has fallen into the hands of the occupying force."[2] And Mr Swinhoe—also an eye-witness—completes the picture, by mention of the "few natives that still lingered by their usurped domiciles, quietly watching with the eye of despair the destruction of all the property they possessed in the world, and the ruin of their hopes, perhaps for ever."[3]

Changkeawhan, we learn from the Chaplain to the

[1] *Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, vol. i., pp. 358-9.

[2] *British Arms in China and Japan*, 1864, Dr D. F. Rennie, M.D., p. 79.

[3] *Narrative of the North China Campaign of* 1860, 1861, Robert Swinhoe, p. 64.

Forces, "was the first place given up to the troops to plunder by the Commander-in-Chief, and everyone thought, very justly, as a punishment to the Chinese for their treachery. The Indian troops, the Hong-Kong coolies, and the Indian camp-followers, showed their superiority to the British soldier in the practice of looting. The natives and Indians knew where to look for valuables, and would turn a house inside out while the soldier was thinking how to get in. I did not hear of anything of real value being found, nor did the benefit which accrued to our own forces from the plunder equal the one-thousandth part of the punishment inflicted on the Chinese by the losses."[1]

"The village of Sinho suffered similarly; and though some measure of discipline was maintained on the subsequent march to Peking, the French, when they reached the Summer Palace, abandoned themselves to a mania of looting and destruction. These buildings contained a vast collection of China's choicest objects of art. . . . The plunderers broke everything they had no mind to remove, or no education to appreciate. For years afterwards, bric-à-brac dealers in Paris and London were able to offer for sale unique 'curios from the Summer Palace.'"[2]

Nor do the British appear to have been anything behind their French comrades — having evidently improved since the days of Changkeawhan—if we may judge by results. "The British share of plunder," we are told, "was all arranged in the hall of the large llama temple, where the Head Quarters Staff were quartered, and a goodly sight it was," including "two or three of the Emperor's state robes . . . the sale continued for three whole days. . . . Fancy the sale of an emperor's effects beneath the walls of the capital of his empire," ejaculates Mr Swinhoe.[3]

[1] *How we got to Peking*, 1862, Rev. R. J. L. M'Ghee, Chaplain to the Forces, p. 166. [2] Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 33

[3] *North China Campaign*, pp. 310-11.

"That a good foundation has been laid by our last China expedition for future missionary exertions in this country, I fully believe;" writes the Chaplain to the Forces, once more, "a certain amount of respect for us, which should render such labours at least tolerably safe, must be secured. I think that this has been done, and all friends to that great and most important cause must rejoice in the fact; it remains for us now to use proportionate exertions in order to reap the vast extent of harvest ground which has been thus opened to us."[1]

England—while preparing for the campaign of 1860—obtained from the Viceroy of Kwantung, the capital of which—Canton—was in British military occupation, a perpetual lease of Kowloon peninsula; and, in the final settlement of accounts, 8,000,000 taels; besides £3850 for each British subject taken prisoner in the white-flag incident.

France took, for her share, 8,000,000 taels; and £6060 for each French subject;[2] and formally assumed the Protectorate of Chinese Christians, by securing the restoration "to the Minister of France, all the Catholic churches, with their cemeteries, their lands, and their dependencies, which were confiscated in the provinces and in the capital of the Empire from the Christians who formerly possessed them."[3]

By mutual agreement, the French Text of the treaty was to be recognised as the authentic version. Art. VI. reads as follows:—

French Text.	Chinese Text.
"In conformity with the Imperial Edict issued the 28th March 1846, by the August Emperor Taoukwang, the religious and charitable establishments which were confiscated from the	"*Every Chinese of whatsoever condition, is free to embrace the Catholic religion and to propagate it. It is permitted to Christians to meet in assembly and to build churches for offering up prayers.*

[1] *How we got to Peking*, p. 364.
[2] Brinkley, vol. xii., pp. 37-9.
[3] Baron Gros, quoted in Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 41.

FRENCH TEXT.	CHINESE TEXT.
Christians during the persecution of which they were the victims, shall be restored to their proprietors by the instrumentality of his Excellency the Minister of France in China, to whom the Imperial Government will cause them to be delivered, with the cemeteries and the other edifices appertaining to them."[1]	*Anyone daring unjustly to pursue Christians and to take them shall undergo the punishment he merits.* Catholic temples, colleges, cemeteries, houses, fields, and all other possessions formerly confiscated during the persecution, shall be restored to the French Ambassador residing in Peking, who will make restitution of them to the proper persons. *French missionaries shall have liberty to rent land in all the provinces of the empire, to buy and to construct houses as they find good."*[2]

"The italicised portions," says Captain Brinkley, "were interpolated by the French missionary who made the translation. The fraud they represent is bad enough. Had such a piece of chicanery been practised by Chinese, its denunciation by Western nations would have been couched in unmeasured terms. But the title to recover churches, cemeteries, and charitable buildings confiscated during the persecutions, did not rest on this forgery, neither did the forgers insert anything whatever about payment for confiscated property. There is no reason to magnify the disgrace."[3]

"In point of fact," says Mr Holcombe, "the interpolation was an act of useless and unnecessary dishonesty, even under the plea that the end justifies the means. This can be readily shown. In A.D. 1724, the Roman Catholic missionaries, who had built up a large and influential following in China, were expelled from the country, being charged with seeking to interfere with affairs of State, and with disobedience to the commands of the Emperor. The property of the Church, amounting to many millions of dollars in value, was either confiscated by the Government, or taken

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 43. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 43-4. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

possession of without legal process by individuals. In a French treaty with China, made some twelve years previous to that of Tientsin, it had been agreed by the Chinese Government, that all such property, upon proper identification and proof of ownership, should be restored 'to the congregations of Chinese Christians,' to whom it had belonged. Under this stipulation, property of immense value in the aggregate was restored to the Roman Catholic Church in China; and bishops and priests were placed in possession of it. If there was anything irregular, or unexpected by the Chinese, in the issue of the transaction, which must be doubted, it lies in the restoration of the property to the hands of the foreign priests and bishops, instead of 'to the congregations of Chinese Christians,' as provided for in the treaty. The 'favoured nation clause,' found in all treaties with China, opened the way for Protestant missionaries to follow the Catholic. The notorious interpolated clause in the French Treaty of 1858 has played no part whatever in the establishment of missionaries in interior districts." [1]

"The French Minister in Peking officially notified the Chinese authorities, that his Government recognised the spurious nature of the clause, and would claim no rights under it." [2]

Commenting on the previous French Treaty referred to above, Rev. Dr Martin remarks:—"To France belongs the honour of inaugurating the new era of religious freedom. The English, whose guns had prostrated the barriers in the way of commerce, in making their treaty, two years earlier, thought of nothing but trade. It might not, indeed, have been expedient to demand absolute freedom of religion, but why did they not remember those brave mission-

[1] *The Real Chinese Question*, 1901, Chester Holcombe (for many years Interpreter, Secretary of Legation, and Acting Minister of the United States in Peking), pp. 160-1.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

aries, and their faithful adherents in the hour of victory?"[1]

Mr Michie, though he does not ask the same question, is evidently of the same opinion. "Whatever may be said of that of other nations, the intercourse of Great Britain and the United States with China, from the earliest period to the latest, has had no other object than trade between the nations, and therefore all the steps in that intercourse must be judged in their relation to the promotion of international commerce."[2]

It only remains to notice the part taken by Russia in the education of China. "By the Treaty of Nertchinsk, concluded in 1689, she had been excluded from the navigation of the Amur. . . . England's war with China in 1842 had shown the world how helpless the Middle Kingdom was as a belligerent. Muravioff [the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia], therefore, deeming that accomplished facts would be much more eloquent than diplomatic representations, ignored the Treaty of Nertchinsk, and sailed down the Amur from Transbaikalia at the head of a large flotilla. That was in 1854, just when the Taipings were shaking the throne of China, and the 'City Question' was becoming acute at Canton." In 1858 a treaty was signed at Aigun in North Manchuria, which "made Russia mistress of the whole northern bank of the Amur; and on the south of the river, it secured to her, pending final delimitation, equal proprietary rights with China in the maritime region facing Saghalien, Yezo, and the north-west coast of the main island of Japan." In 1860, a further treaty was concluded in Peking, by which Russia obtained the "right of sole ownership" over "the region extending along the sea-coast south of the river's [Amur] mouth," and "Muravioff had not waited for the conclusion of the convention. Four months previously he had surveyed the coast of the coveted region, had chosen, on the

[1] *A Cycle of Cathay*, 1896, W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D., pp. 440-1.

[2] *The Englishman in China*, 1900, Alexander Michie, vol. i., p. 167.

extreme south, a position for a new settlement, which he called Vladivostok (Master of the Orient), and had taken military possession of the place." [1]

Chinese opinion of foreigners at the close of the pre-conventional period "was clearly set forth in a brochure compiled by way of answer to Protestant propagandism. It was absurd, the writer declared, that persons so miserably deficient themselves should pretend to improve the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire. The foreigner lacked four out of the five cardinal virtues. He lacked benevolence, because, for his own benefit, he introduced a poisonous drug among the Chinese. He lacked righteousness, because he sent his fleets and armies to rob others of their possessions. He lacked the sense of propriety, because he allowed men and women to mix in society and to walk arm-in-arm in the streets. He lacked wisdom, because he rejected the teachings of antiquity. The only good quality to which he could lay claim was truth. Claiming to preach to the world, he himself lacked filial piety, since he forgot his parents as soon as they were dead, buried them in deal coffins only an inch thick, and never sacrificed to their *manes*, or burned a scrap of gold paper for their support in the other world. Lavishing money to circulate books for reforming the age, he himself showed his disrespect for literature by trampling it under foot. Manifestly he was inferior to the Chinese, and not fit to instruct them." [2]

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., pp. 45-9.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xi., pp. 161-2.

CHAPTER II

CHINA: THE LAND OF PROMISE

"THE Chinese object," remarks Mr Holcombe, "perhaps unreasonably, to the application to their Empire of those two well-known declarations said to have been made by the unanimous voice of a religious body: 'Resolved, that the Righteous shall inherit the earth. Resolved, that we are the Righteous.'"[1]

And so:—"With capital for which no employment can be found, workers idle and on short time; trade generally bad and wages low in England, what a land of promise does China appear! The feeling of the English merchants in China is evidenced, according to Mr Colquhoun, by the following expression of one of them, 'I am not working for posterity,' that is to say, merchants go to China to make as much money as possible, by the existing means of trade, as soon as possible."[2]

This view is perfectly conceivable from a European standpoint. But there is another way of looking at things Chinese submitted by the late Mrs Bishop.

"In much talk about 'open doors' and 'spheres of influence' and 'interest,' in much greed for ourselves, not always dexterously cloaked, and much jealousy and suspicion of our neighbours, and in much interest in the undignified scramble for concessions in which we have been taking our share at Pekin, there is a risk of our coming to think only of markets, territory, and

[1] *China's past and future*, 1904, Hon. Chester Holcombe, p. 144.

[2] *The Opening of China*, 1884, Introduction by S. H. Loutitt, p. ix.

railroads, and ignoring the men who, for two thousand years, have been making China worth scrambling for. It may be that we go forward with a 'light heart,' along with other European empires, not hesitating, for the sake of commercial advantages, to break up in the case of a fourth part of the human race the most ancient of earth's existing civilisations, without giving any equivalent."[1]

Hence, "too much has been written about China from a purely foreign standpoint. The shelves are full of books—notably English—telling with great detail and much ingenuity what China wants, what China desires, and what is best for China, with the sole object of promoting the interests of British commerce, and thwarting the designs of Russia and every other Power. But regarding what China needs *for China's sake* [italics in original] the world of letters is markedly silent."[2]

Precisely; the Chinese themselves are in danger of being overlooked, and their opinions disregarded, although it is their country which is under consideration.

A few years ago, the Inspector-General of Chinese Customs explained that the foreigner and his merchandise were not wanted, "not that the Chinese Government actively opposed foreign commerce, but that the Chinese people did not require it. Chinese have the best food in the world, rice; the best drink, tea; and the best clothing, cotton, silk, and fur. Possessing these staples, and their innumerable native adjuncts, they do not need to buy a penny's worth elsewhere; while their Empire is in itself so great, and they themselves so numerous, that sales to each other make up an enormous and sufficient trade, and export to foreign countries is unnecessary."[3]

[1] *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 1899, Mrs J. F. Bishop, F.R.G.S., p. 11.

[2] *The Real Chinese Question*, 1901, Chester Holcombe, p. vi.

[3] *These from the Land of Sinim*, 1901, Sir Robert Hart, Bart., G.C.M.G., p. 61.

And one who writes under the name of "A Chinese Official" further explains that, "as we are not led to interfere with you by the desire to convert you, so we are not driven to do so by the necessity of trade. Economically as well as politically we are sufficient to ourselves. What we consume we produce, and what we produce we consume. We do not require and we have not sought the products of other nations; and we hold it no less imprudent than unjust to make war on strangers in order to open their markets. A society, we conceive, that is to be politically stable, must be economically independent, and we regard an extensive foreign trade as necessarily a source of social demoralisation."[1]

In 1885, Mr Boulger expressed the opinion that "while most persons are asserting that the dislike to build railways is a proof of China's backwardness in the scale of civilisation, I contend that there are many sound arguments to justify the hesitation shown by the Peking Ministers in sanctioning such enterprises. It may be admitted that railways would give a great impulse to foreign trade, and that consequently the Chinese would derive as much advantage as anyone else from the construction; but the Government is guided in its policy by other considerations as well as those of pecuniary advantage. Even without railways, Chinese commerce has reached a flourishing point; and it will be long before the Peking ministry will be induced to disturb the *status quo,* and incur possible danger for the sake of benefiting the foreign trade. If things go on at their present rate, the Chinese can count on certain and very satisfactory returns as a balance in their favour on the foreign trade of the country. They have little to gain, and perhaps much to lose by attempting to disturb the arrangements on which their trade exists."[2]

[1] *Letters from a Chinese Official*, 1903, p. 12.

[2] *Central Asian Questions*, 1885, Demetrius C. Boulger, p. 170.

"It is the labour question," Mr Holcombe tells us, "which forms the basis of the most serious objection of intelligent Chinese to the introduction of machine work, and rapid transportation. It is not a question whether the fears and arguments which influence them are valid or worthless. It is enough that they are operative and sufficient with them. It is simply impossible to convince them that a machine by which one man is enabled to do the productive labour of ten can be anything but a curse to a country in which, after the most patient division and sub-division, arrangement and re-arrangement, there still is not to be found an amount of labour sufficient to clothe each subject in the meanest robes, and to feed him with the cheapest food." [1]

Further :—"Chinese do complain that foreign competition in China's coasting trade has ruined junk-owners." [2] "The native capitalist of former days is a beggar now, and the crowds of junkmen he employed, are as angry with their Government for permitting the foreigner to step in and seize such local trade as with the foreigner himself for doing so." [3]

A perusal of the Report on the Trade of Shanghai for 1876, gives us the advantage of Chinese official opinion on foreign competition in the inland commerce. In it, Mr Consul Davenport quoted from a Memorial by Tsêng Kwo-Fan, at that time Viceroy of the two Kiang Provinces :—"If small steamers be allowed on inland waters, native craft of every size, sailors, and pilots will suffer; if foreigners are allowed to construct telegraphs and railways, owners of carts, mules, chairs, and inns will suffer, and the means of living be taken away from the coolies. The same may be said of all demands of foreigners, except the working of coal mines; it would enrich China to borrow foreign appliances for the extracting of coal, and it would appear to deserve a trial. If foreigners are allowed to

[1] *China's past and future*, 1904, Hon. Chester Holcombe, pp. 11-12.
[2] *These from the Land of Sinim*, p. 161. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

introduce small steamers, railroads, etc., they will monopolise the whole profits of the country; if our people are allowed to join with them in introducing them, the rich will benefit at the expense of the poor—neither plan is practicable. With respect to the points which are not highly obnoxious, we should grant them if asked; it is only as to railroads, steamers, salt, and residence in the interior for trade, as destructive of our people's interests, that a strenuous fight should be made."[1]

Nearly twenty years later, Rev. G. W. Clarke informs us that, previous to the fifty years before, Yün-nan was prosperous by reason of the conveyance of cotton from Burmah. When England took Lower Burmah, steamers carried cotton and other goods to Canton and elsewhere, and now [1894] "there is very little trade through the province from Burmah. Many Yün-nan business men have told me with suppressed vexation, 'Ah! before you Foreigners put steamers on the Burmah trade, we had the chance of making plenty of money, but now it is hard to get a living.' I replied: 'The racecourse for wealth is open to all, but only the fittest horses come in first.'"[2]

Eight years afterwards, Mr Nichols could say:—"A voyage on a great waterway in China is enough to convince anyone that there is considerable foundation for the Chinese argument against a change to improved methods of transportation. The crude and unwieldy junks on the Han River must afford the means of livelihood to hundreds of thousands of families. Were the river to be dredged so as to be navigable for steamers, or were it to be paralleled by a railroad, all of these men who, directly or indirectly, make a living from the junks would be thrown out of work. In any other country in the world there would be a chance of their finding employment in some other trade or business; but this is

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1878, pp. 20-1.

[2] *Kweichow and Yün-nan*, 1894, G. W. Clarke, pp. 16-17.

impossible in China, for the reason that the division of labour is fixed and permanent. There is no shifting of the centres of population, or the opening of new avenues of industry."[1]

Again :—"One reads in the reports to the directors of steamship companies of the improved trade with China in cotton-goods, and the bright outlook all along the coast from Canton to Tientsin and Newchwang in this line of commerce, but no one reads of the effect of this expansion of trade upon innumerable millions of Chinese in the great cotton-growing plains of China. These have hitherto been just able to make a scanty living by weaving." Two days of hard work, Dr Arthur Smith informs us, only produce enough to purchase the barest necessaries of life, and a supply of cotton for weaving—which sometimes goes on day and night. "But now, through the 'bright outlook' for foreign cotton-goods, there is no market for the native product." Nor can he take to something else, for, in China, a man can do only one thing, which may be an hereditary craft. Multitudes, who own no loom, used to spin cotton thread; but now, owing to the activity of the mills elsewhere, foreign threads, stronger and cheaper are sent to China. "There are those who know perfectly well that, before foreign trade came to disturb the ancient order of things, there was, in ordinary years enough to eat and to wear, whereas now [1901] there is a scarcity in every direction, with a prospect of worse to come."[2]

In 1903, we hear, on the authority of Mr Archibald Little, that "the natives have lately established cotton-mills, which pay handsome dividends, and with which the foreign-managed mills at Shanghai are unable to compete; these latter are now (1903) mostly in difficulties."[3] Whether any portion of the "handsome

[1] *Through Hidden Shensi*, 1902, Francis H. Nichols, pp. 304-5.
[2] *China in Convulsion*, 1901, Arthur H. Smith, vol. i., pp. 89, 90-1.
[3] *The Far East*, 1905, Archibald Little, p. 114.

dividends" finds its way to the "great cotton-growing plains" is not stated.

One more example :—"Myriads of farmers grow the beans and pea-nuts out of which illuminating oils are made. But since American kerosine was introduced in 1864, its use has become well-nigh universal, and the families who depended upon the bean oil and pea-nut oil market are starving. . . . All this is, of course, inevitable," remarks Mr Arthur Judson Brown, "and indeed for the best interests of the people of China themselves, but it enables us to understand why so many of the Chinese resent the introduction of foreign goods."[1]

In 1890, Mrs Arthur H. Smith gave the Missionary Conference two examples of "the possible depths of Chinese poverty." In the first, the wedding of their son found the family too poor to buy a fifteen-cent mat for the *k'ang* of the bride. "They borrowed one. The new wife, who had a comfortable bed-quilt as part of her dowry, felt guilty to be warm while her new mother-in-law shivered under a tattered excuse for a comforter. After the rest were asleep, the bride would steal out of the other room, put her nice warm covering over her new mother, and go back to her own comfortless bed to shiver. In another village, a dispute as to who should bear the expense of less than two cents worth of oil an evening, has been known to break up a religious meeting. 'But the people are not all as poor as that,' says your new missionary, whom no doubts appal, and no facts suppress." And Mrs Smith continues that :—"Rightly to understand Chinese life, we must turn our backs on the great facts of political economy, and move the hands of the world's great clock back to the times of our great-grandmothers."[2]

China, then, would seem to have no very pressing economic reasons to desire the presence of the foreigner ; and perhaps no kindly remembrances of past favours

[1] *New Forces in Old China*, 1904, Arthur Judson Brown, p. 137.
[2] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 250.

to induce her to love him when there, since, in the words of Captain Mahan, "every step forward in the march that has opened China to trade has been gained by pressure; the most important have been the result of actual war. Commerce has won its way by violence, actual or feared. . . ."[1]

"Thus ended the China War of 1860," remarks Lord Wolseley, "the shortest, most brilliant, and most successful of all that we have waged with that country. Let us hope that it may be the last, by procuring for our merchants a perpetual immunity from those acts of oppression and violence which have led to all our disputes with the Pekin Government. May its prophylactic effects enable us to trade on freely at every port along the great sea-board of the Empire, and so open out new channels for our commercial enterprise. It has cost us a large sum of money, but, unlike many of our expensive European wars, we may with justice look forward to a liberal return for what we have expended. . . . The one great object which we have ever had in view there has been freedom of action for our merchants, and unrestricted permission to trade with all parts of the Empire. To prevent this last-mentioned object has ever been the aim of all Chinese politicians."[2]

And, when we have contemplated — to use the energetic language of Mr Will, of the *Baltimore Sun* —"the spectacle of Europe parcelling out the Empire, as if it were a plum-cake,"[3] we shall, perhaps, think the foreigner has, of late years, given China less cause to regard him with favour than ever before.

We left Canton in foreign military occupation, and it so remained for three years and ten months. The occupying force "not only refrained from wholesale

[1] *The Problem of Asia*, 1900, Captain A. T. Mahan, U.S.N., p. 169.
[2] *Narrative of the War with China in* 1860, 1862, Lt.-Col. G. J. Wolseley, pp. 323-4.
[3] *World-Crisis in China*, 1900, Allen S. Will, p. 106.

excesses, but even employed native officials to discharge official functions."[1] There were sundry attempts made by "co-operative corps" to recover the place. "'Dirty vagabonds' and 'dastards,'" says Captain Brinkley, "were the epithets that seemed good to Consul Parkes for describing men who, had the scene been laid in an Occidental country, would have been called 'heroes' and 'patriots'; and, in the eyes of the same official, an attempt on the part of the Chinese to defend their own hearths and homes against a foreign invader became 'a gratuitous piece of impertinence.' So singularly perverted do the acts of Orientals appear to many Europeans, otherwise just and benevolent men."[2]

Mr Colquhoun informs us that "the first Prussian expedition was in 1861, under the Count von Eulenberg. Some years later, German traders in China suggested that their Government should seize a portion of Chinese territory, Formosa or Corea, in order to found a 'German Australia.' Treaties were concluded in 1861 and 1880. But nothing was done in this direction until Kiachau was occupied."[3]

"How easily public opinion concerning us is formed," writes Professor Raphael Pumpelly, "was well shown in the Province of Hunan in 1862. An English gunboat at Hankau burned a junk which was conveying soldiers to Nanking. The soldiers had brutally assaulted an Englishman, and with a precipitation in keeping with the old retaliation policy the junk was burned. But the vessel was private property, having been impressed in Hunan by the braves; and its destruction, instead of being a punishment of the offenders, incensed the whole population of Eastern Hunan. Knowing no difference among foreigners, the inhabitants of that province visited on the head of the Catholic missionaries the offence of the English

[1] *China, etc.*, 1904, Captain F. Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 51-2.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 52-4.
[3] *China in Transformation*, 1898, Archibald B. Colquhoun, p. 45.

gun-boat; destroying the mission, and barely allowing the priests to escape alive. So strong was the hatred towards the foreigner—a feeling first communicated along the great transit route from Canton, and increased by the blind act of retaliation—that in 1863, the writer found it impossible to penetrate to Southern Hunan with safety."[1]

At the end of 1867, Sir Rutherford Alcock—then Minister in Peking—thus commented on the situation:—"Although the general aspect of affairs is very unsatisfactory and unpromising, I believe there is a leaven at work among the ruling classes, and more especially in the Foreign Board here, if not in the palace itself, which forbids despondency. If only means can be found of keeping from them all foreign meddling and attempts at dictation, there is yet ground of hope. But these rouse strong instincts of resistance and national pride, giving fresh force to the retrograde and anti-foreign party, while at the same time it paralyses all hopeful effort in those more favourable to progress, from the fear of its being made a new pretext on the part of one or more foreign Powers, and a degree of interference with their internal affairs which affects their sovereign rights as an independent nation. Governing under an incessant menace of this interference, wounded in their *amour propre*, and irritated with a sense of humiliation in the inability to resist, they do nothing. Great changes might be looked for at no distant date, I am satisfied, but for the ever-recurring obstacle—a veritable *bête noir* to the Chinese. No nation likes interference of a foreign Power in its internal affairs, however well intentioned it may be, and China is no exception to the rule. . . . I am thoroughly convinced they would go much faster and better if left alone."[2]

France took a conspicuous part in China between

[1] *Across America and Asia*, 1870, Raphael Pumpelly (Prof., Hav. Univ.), p. 354.

[2] Parliamentary Paper, China (5), 1871, p. 57.

1860 and 1900. What she meant, M. Louis de Carné, as quoted by Mr Colquhoun, leaves us in no sort of uncertainty:—"The force of circumstances, and the weakness of the Chinese themselves . . . enable us to foresee the dismemberment of that ancient Empire. In presence of such an eventuality, France should be prepared. . . . It is absolutely necessary that she should exercise a paramount influence in Tonquin, which is for her the *Key of China* [italics his], and that, without hurrying by any impatience, the course of events, she should show her flag to the people whose protectorate may some day fall into her hands."[1]

"But the service she exacted from religion as a pretext for drawing the sword," says Captain Brinkley, "cannot be passed without notice. She took up arms against the Taipings, because they had killed one of her priests, and destroyed images in Roman Catholic churches. She took up arms against China, in conjunction with England, because a priest had been done to death by Chinese officials in Kwangsi. She took up arms against Cochin China in 1860, directing her troops thither after their withdrawal from Peking, in order to check persecutions of Christians, and to bring them under French protection. And the aggressive extension of her territorial acquisitions in Cochin China led her to Tonquin in 1884, involving her in a war with China. . . ." Owing "to the harsh claims advanced by her in Shanghai, in 1874, a serious riot occurred. . . . The French attempted, in 1874, to carry out a project of road construction, involving the removal of a Chinese pagoda, where were placed numerous coffins containing corpses awaiting ultimate removal to their native place, Ningpo. Nothing could have been more sacrilegious in Chinese eyes, and the result was a riot which led to the temporary abandonment of the project. The year 1898, however, saw its renewal with greater insistence than ever; and on this occasion the French again em-

[1] Quoted in *China in Transformation*, pp. 44-5.

ployed force, killing some eighteen Chinese, and wounding many others. Natives of the adjoining province of Fuhkien owned the pagoda in question, and to the anti-foreign feeling thus engendered in that province is apparently attributable a terrible massacre of Christians which took place there two years later. At the door of French aggression in Annam must also be indirectly laid the burning of thirteen mercantile establishments in Canton in 1883, and the wrecking of eighteen Protestant churches in the same city and its environs in 1884."[1]

A year or two later, Great Britain sought to occupy a portion of Chinese territory known as Port Hamilton. This being understood, the following from Earl Granville to Mr O'Conor in Peking explains itself:—"Dr Macartney has been instructed by the Marquis Tseng to communicate the following: 'The Chinese Government would be much gratified had circumstances permitted their meeting the views of H.M. Government in the matter of the proposed occupation; but in view of the Russian Minister in Peking having given the *Yamên* to understand that, should the Chinese Government consent to a British occupation of the islands forming Port Hamilton, the Russian Government would feel it necessary to occupy some other island or portion of the kingdom of Korea; also, that in view of Japan following the same course, the Chinese Government regrets, etc.'"[2]

As evidence of the march of events about 1895, the *Carte Spéciale*—a map of China issued in Paris—deserves mention. "It shows, among other things, the so-called 'spheres of influence' of the various Powers in China," and "the partitioning of her territories among three of the Great Powers of the Occident is openly projected without the slightest reference to China's volition. Her title to have any voice in her own dissection never received the least recognition

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., pp. 149-50-1.
[2] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1887, p. 4.

from the dissectors. They did not even take the trouble to conceal their designs from her; and during the last five years of the nineteenth century every Chinese statesman and official had the pleasure of learning that the Powers of Europe, whenever it suited their convenience, intended to cut his country into pieces, each taking a portion whose dimensions and location had been already fixed. Yet, all the while, these very Powers insisted on being treated by their future victim with the utmost confidence and friendship, never hesitating to accuse her of Oriental distrust and racial prejudice if she displayed the least reluctance to be friendly and liberal. . . . France, always artistic, had set the *fin-du-siècle* example by substituting 'state of reprisals' for the vulgar term 'warfare'; and now her rivals in civilisation soothed their own consciences and displayed their ingenuity by transforming 'areas of aggression' into 'spheres of influence.'" [1]

Hence we find that at the Peace Conference at the Hague, in 1907, during the discussion of "Declarations of War," "the Chinese military delegate, Colonel Tinge, made the significant remark that China's experience showed that a definition of war itself was desirable, for war had sometimes been made under the name of 'expedition.' The Committee saw the point, and there was an appreciative ripple of laughter." [2]

"Railway and mining concessions, and the manner of procuring them, have been additional causes of rankling discontent." To the fact that the Chinese are not yet "educated up" to the "modern improvements" of the West, geomantic superstition is added, "as well as the plainly exasperating fact that the lines are to be built by foreigners and operated for their profit. . . . Among the educated classes, too, or at any rate among the section of them that have any know-

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., pp. 183-4-5.
The Times, 13th July 1907.

ledge of foreign affairs, the political significance of railway concessions granted to foreigners must be already apprehended, and is destined to become clearer every day. Each mile of foreign-owned railway in China is a menace to her independence."[1]

"Concessions had been obtained," writes Mr Marshall Broomhall, "for the opening up of railways and mines. Land had to be bought, and frequently by compulsory sale. The European and American agents were doubtless upright in all their transactions, and paid handsomely for all land bought. The seller, however, only received a small portion of the sum paid. The Chinese officials appointed to conduct the negotiations pocketed the larger share. That the foreign surveyors were ignorant of this and blameless, does not lessen the wrongs of the people. They cursed the foreigner and his railway, as a new means whereby unprincipled officials were enabled to squeeze them. Graves also had to be removed, the *feng-shui* was ignored, the good luck of districts was spoiled. Drought and famine followed—conclusive proofs of heaven's displeasure."[2]

"The railway concession," Mr Sargent thinks, "has been responsible for many volumes of diplomatic correspondence during recent years, and in the battle of concessions England and the United States have not been behindhand. The private speculator appears on the scene, and worries the Chinese Government, but behind him is the whole diplomatic force of his country."[3] As if to confirm this latter statement, we find H.M. Minister in Peking writing to Lord Salisbury on 23rd July 1898, "The Battle of Concessions is not, in my opinion, going against us."[4]

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., pp. 181-2-3.

[2] *Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission*, 1901, Marshall Broomhall, B.A., p. 7.

[3] *Anglo-Chinese Commerce and Diplomacy*, 1907, A. J. Sargent, M.A., pp. 239-40.

[4] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1899, p. 169.

And H.E. had good reason to say so. "At the end of 1898, the British [railway] concessions amounted to 2800 miles, the Russian to 1530 miles, the German to 720 miles, the Belgian to 650 miles, the French to 420, the American to 300 miles (reckoning half interests at half the estimated length of the line)."[1]

As a modest example of a mining concession: a British Syndicate is reported to have obtained, on 21st May 1898, a concession granting it—as appears from its own prospectus of 6th March 1900—"the sole right for 60 years to mine coal throughout 20,000 square miles in Shansi Province, the richest coal mining area in the world, whose people are almost wholly dependent on this industry. It claims that throughout this vast area, all Chinese mines opened since 21st May 1898 are to be excluded or closed down, but, 'having no desire to stand upon the strict letter of its right, it is ready to concede to natives mining in the old way with native methods and native capital, the privilege of working the mines, so long as they do not invade the Syndicate's permit area, or enter into competition with the Syndicate outside the district.' . . . The Province asks," says the Peking correspondent of the *Times*, "how can native miners, working with antiquated methods, and forbidden for 60 years to use foreign machinery, be able to exist alongside a foreign Syndicate with the latest methods and machinery?"[2]

It is satisfactory to learn that the Shansi Provincial authorities have recovered from the Syndicate the rights granted to the latter. . . . The Syndicate accepts 2,700,000 taels (approximately £400,000), payable in four years, and leaves the Province.[3]

"It is also of interest," remarks Dr Reinsch, "to inquire what missionaries are worth to European nations, industrially and commercially. France and

[1] *Anglo-Chinese Commerce, etc.*, p. 243.
[2] *The Times*, 3rd June 1907.
[3] *Ibid.*, 18th January 1908.

Germany have made especially successful use of claims for damages done to missionaries and missions. Never before perhaps has so much material value been attached to ministers of the Gospel in foreign lands. . . . Thus the French Consul at Choonking, who is famous for his expansionist intrigues, demanded, as compensation for damages inflicted on French missions, mining rights in six districts of Szechuen, extending over six degrees of longitude, together with an indemnity of 1,200,000 taels. In May 1898, Père Berthollet, a French missionary in Quangsi, was murdered. Among other compensations for this outrage, the French Government obtained the right to build a railway from Pakhoi to Nanning."[1] "I hear," wrote Sir C. Macdonald on 12th May 1898, "that the demands made by the French Minister for compensation for the murder reported in my telegram of 3rd May are: (1) Right to build a railway to join the Lungchow Nanning Line with the sea-coast; (2) 100,000 francs as an indemnity; (3) a memorial chapel to be built at Pakhoi."[2]

British missionaries, though apparently not so valuable in a commercial sense, are, nevertheless, worth considering: *e.g.*, "The claim presented by the British Government in connection with the murder of missionaries at Nan-chang is for an indemnity of 7000 taels, and for the opening of Wu-cheng-chi."[3]

On 1st November 1897, two German missionaries were murdered in Shantung. Germany promptly required Kiao-Chao as a naval base,[4] besides which:— "(1) The building of an Imperial Tablet to the memory of the missionaries who were murdered; (2) the families of the murdered missionaries to be indemnified;

[1] *World Politics at the end of the Nineteenth Century*, 1900, Paul S. Reinsch, Ph.D., LL.B., p. 146.

[2] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1899, p. 80.

[3] *The Morning Post*, 30th March 1906.

[4] Brinkley, vol. xii., pp. 189-190.

(3) The Governor of Shantung to be degraded permanently; (4) The Chinese Government to defray the cost of the German occupation of Kiao-Chao; (5) German engineers to have the preference in the building of any railway which China may construct in the Province of Shantung; and also in the working of any mine which may exist along the track of such railway."[1]

On 25th March 1898, Russia obtained from China a "lease" of Port Arthur and Talien, in the Liaotung Peninsula.[2]

"Within a few days of Russia's acquisitions in Liaotung, England procured from China a lease of Wei-hai-wei, on the north coast of the Shantung Peninsula, the only port suitable for a naval station that remained to China in the northern regions of her Empire."[3]

"Thus, for unhappy China, the total results of the murder of two German missionaries were, that three of the Great European Powers had seated themselves permanently at the entrance to the Gulf of Pechili, thus commanding the maritime approaches to the metropolis; that the whole of Manchuria, a territory as large as France and Germany combined, might now be counted a Russian possession; and that Germany regarded as the legitimate *hinterland* of Kiaochow, the province of Shantung, with its 53,000 square miles of area, its 37,000,000 of inhabitants, and its profoundly sacred character as the birthplace of Confucius and Mencius."[4]

Great Britain now "requested a lease" of 200 square miles of territory forming the *hinterland* of the Kowloon promontory. Both here and at Wei-hai-wei, the inhabitants, attempting to resist "these apparent acts of aggression," had to be shot down; and were, moreover, called "rioters" for their pains.[5]

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1898, p. 3.
[2] Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 192.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

Elsewhere, it may be remembered, men similarly engaged had been called—and on high authority—"a brave people, struggling—and rightly struggling—to be free."

In like manner France "requested a lease" of the Port of Kwang-chow in Kwangtung, north of Hainan Island.[1]

Not to be behindhand in the scramble for China, Italy proposed to acquire a port in Che-kiang [San-men Bay].[2] The Peking Administration seem to have thought that the line must be drawn somewhere, and declined to entertain the proposal.

Among minor dealings with China about this time may be noted the following:—"The principal illegal taxes at present collected on goods *in transitu* are *Likin* (a sort of provincial customs due levied in every province, and sometimes in nearly every district of a province). . . . The whole object of it appears to be to squeeze the poor, the weak, and the enterprising . . . and in every province it is merely an excuse for tyranny and extortion. Illegal as it is, when levied on foreign goods under transit pass, it is curious to find both the British and German Governments giving the tax a legal status, by accepting seven *Likin* Collectorates as collateral security for the last Anglo-German loan."[3]

"There is no doubt," Lord Charles Beresford tells us, "that the proceedings of the Russians in the neighbourhood of Newchang have been of a very high-handed character. They took their present settlement without leave from anybody, and paid the natives at nominal rates for the land. I was shown where the railway had gone through growing crops without compensating the natives, who were greatly incensed, but were advised to keep peaceful by the authorities."[4]

"At Chefoo," says his Lordship, "the Chinese were

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 194. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 246.
[3] *The Break-up of China*, 1899, Lord Charles Beresford, p. 397.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

induced to sell the foreshore to a Russian Company. Instead of arguing out the matter in a friendly manner with the Russian Government, the British Government insisted on the Chinese paying 30,000 taels (over £4000), for granting a concession which, owing to their weakness, they were powerless to refuse."[1]

"Some suggestion has been made that [at Hankow] the British Government should force the Chinese to pay a heavy compensation for having conceded land to the Russians and French containing British-owned property. This," Lord Charles thinks, "is a cowardly and unchivalrous practice, which has been resorted to lately, under similar circumstances, by all foreign countries with regard to China. China being prostrate, one European Power, at the point of the bayonet, demands concessions which China has neither the right to give, nor the power to refuse. Immediately, another European Power, at the point of the bayonet, compels China to pay heavy compensation for acceding to demands which she had no power to resist. No more effectual means could be invented to undermine the authority of the Chinese Government, and disintegrate the Empire."[2]

"The German sphere in Shantung enjoys the distinction of being the cradle of the principal agency producing the cataclysm"[3] of 1900, remarks Mr Michie. It will be remembered that one of the items of the reparation exacted from China for the murder of the German missionaries was the permanent degradation of the Governor of Shantung. Concerning this man, Li Ping-Heng, opinions seem to differ. Sir Robert Hart is quoted as describing him to be "a really able, popular, and clean-handed official."[4] H.M. Minister in Peking, on the other hand speaks of him as "an ignorant and bigoted anti-foreign official of the old-

[1] *The Break-up of China*, p. 77. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[3] *The Englishman in China*, 1900, Alexander Michie, vol. ii., p. 462.
[4] Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 191.

fashioned Chinese type," who refused to notice rumours of child-stealing by foreigners, thus placing missionaries in much danger.[1] And a Chinese writer speaks of the murders having been committed by "desperate villagers, goaded on to their crime by the culpable connivance, if not the actual encouragement, of the great hater of foreigners, Li Ping-Heng."[2] Be the truth what it may, it seems that Li Ping-Heng retired beyond the borders of Shantung, and occupied his enforced leisure in arranging the Boxer movement; or, to give it its proper name the *I-Ho-Ch'uan.*

"The Boxer movement," says Sir Robert Hart, "is doubtless the product of official inspiration, but it has taken hold of the popular imagination, and will spread like wildfire all over the length and breadth of the country . . . and its object is to strengthen China—and for a Chinese programme."[3]

As to its cause. Among many that have been suggested, the following is the explanation given by Hon. Chester Holcombe, who was for many years Interpreter, Secretary of Legation, and Acting Minister of the United States in Peking:—"The habit of repression paves the way for grudge and grievance to be held and cherished in secret. These may exist and grow for years unsuspected, beneath the blank and expressionless face of the Chinese, until some trifle, perhaps quite unconnected with the original complaint, brings the crisis and lets loose the storm. The Boxer movement must be explained in this way. To reach its source, one must go back sixty years, to the beginning of diplomatic intercourse or association between Chinese and foreigners. To understand its power and momentum, the anti-foreign feeling originated then must be traced as it spread throughout the Empire, and studied as

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1898, p. 19.

[2] *The Chinese Crisis from Within*, 1901, Wen Ching, p. 122.

[3] *These from the Land of Sinim*, 1901, Sir Robert Hart, Bt., G.C.M.G., p. 52.

it was fed by one incident after another, aggravated by a thousand mutual misunderstandings and genuine causes of complaint; deepened by actual and imaginary attacks upon the integrity and independence of the nation; broadened and widened by offensive airs of patronage and superior wisdom, and inexcusable acts of injustice and wrong, until this feeling reached the danger point at the close of the war with Japan. Then followed shortly thereafter the occupation of two small areas of Chinese soil by Great Britain, and one each by Russia and Germany. Still the repressed anger made no sign. But the hypothecation of native taxes to secure the payment of the indemnity promised to Japan—or as the Chinese regard it, the diversion of their money to the payment of Japan for an unprovoked and inexcusable attack upon the country—this apparently simple and routine business act furnished the friction which generated the electricity which let loose the whirlwind. Thus the Boxer movement! It represents the wrath and hate of sixty years' growth. It is the more violent because of those long years of repression. And it receives the hearty sympathy of many millions of Chinese who have taken no active part in it. For, beyond a doubt, it represents to them a patriotic effort to save their country from foreign aggression and eventual dismemberment."[1]

The story of the Boxer Rising has been told in detail by many elsewhere. One feature of novelty may be noticed. That the entire diplomatic corps accredited to a country should be besieged in one of their Legations for upwards of two months by the citizens of the nation in whose capital they resided, would possibly be regarded as unusual were the scene laid in any other region than China; but, as we have seen, many unusual things have happened there. Among the minor ironies of the situation may be mentioned the presence of Rev. Dr Martin among the defenders of the British Legation

[1] *China's past and future*, 1904, Hon. Chester Holcombe, pp. 33-4.

compound in Peking. The venerable gentleman had professed International Law at the Imperial Tungwen College for over thirty years. He had now the very remarkable experience of being, in company with the foreign representatives, besieged by his hopeful pupils, anxious, no doubt, to demonstrate how thoroughly they appreciated the niceties of International Law as practised in China.

"The facts as to the campaign conducted by foreign forces during parts of 1900 and 1901 in Chili," says Captain Brinkley, "are that robbery, assassinations, and nameless outrages were committed by some of the men; that numbers of innocent and peaceful non-combatants were slaughtered or stripped of everything they possessed; that expeditionary columns, sent against villages which had not been guilty of any offence, looted the residences of the chief local officials, and shot down many of the inhabitants; and that whole districts were ruthlessly and needlessly laid waste."[1]

One remarkable evidence of the intense feeling which animated the Boxers must not be passed over. Rev. Frederick Brown, who was attached to the Intelligence Department of the Relief Expedition, informs us that: "Looking over the wall in the west of the city [Peking], one could see the cemetery in which we had deposited our 'sacred dust'; but now, only two heaps of ashes marked the spot, all the gravestones having been broken up. That such desecration should have been possible in a land in which ancestral worship is so strong a national characteristic, proves the intensity of the Chinese hatred for foreigners."[2]

"Among all the incidents of the sanguinary year, none shocked the world so much as a wholesale massacre perpetrated by the Russians at Blagovestchensk on the Amur." On 15th July 1900, a

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 214.

[2] *From Tientsin to Peking with the Allied Forces*, 1902, Rev. Fredk. Brown, F.R.G.S., p. 118.

Chinese battery fired on the town, killing three Russians, and wounding six. The telegraphic instructions received thereafter "were construed to mean destruction of the Chinese population; and there ensued a terrible massacre, involving the lives of several thousands of inoffensive men, women, and children."[1]

"The treaty was not calculated to make the Chinese think more kindly of the conquerors. Besides the payment of a heavy indemnity [450,000,000 taels, or $333,900,000; which included losses suffered by private individuals], the Powers exacted apologies to Germany for the murder of her Minister, and to Japan for the assassination of her Chancellor of Legation; the erection of monuments in foreign cemeteries; and the making of new commercial treaties. The Chinese were cut to the quick, by being told, among other things, that they must not import fire-arms for two years; that no official examinations would be held for five years in the cities where foreigners had been attacked [a penalty which could not fail to be severely felt, since it blocked the career of all youths in the proscribed districts]; that an important part of the capital would be added to the already spacious grounds of the foreign legations, and that the whole would be fortified and garrisoned by foreign guards; that the Taku Forts, which defended the entrance to Peking, would be razed, and the railway from the sea to the capital occupied by foreign troops; that members of anti-foreign societies were to be executed; that magistrates, even though they were viceroys, were to be summarily dismissed and disgraced, if they did not prevent anti-foreign outbreaks and sternly punish their ringleaders; that court ceremonies in relation to foreign Ministers must be conformed to Western ideas; that the *Tsung-li Yamên* [Foreign Board] must be abolished, and a new Ministry for Foreign Affairs erected—the *Wai-wu-pu*, which must be

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 213.

regarded as the highest of the departments, instead of the lowest. China's cup of humiliation was indeed full."[1]

Writing in 1904, Captain Brinkley summed up the Chinese situation in these words:—"No one that has read the story of China's foreign relations as recorded in these volumes [*Japan, China, etc.*] can doubt that their cumulative effect has been to store up in her bosom a fund of the deepest resentment. What she is now [1904] towards foreigners differs strikingly from what she was two hundred years ago; and what she is now, that she has been made by systematically harsh treatment, such as no other nation ever suffered at the hands of alien Powers. After sixty years of intercourse under treaties of 'amity and commerce,' during which time the open ports and ports of call have grown from five to nearly eleven times that number, and 44 Protestant missionary societies, represented by 2700 workers, have established 95 stations in the 18 provinces, the situation to-day is that the foreign representatives are living in a fortress in the capital, garrisoned by foreign troops; that their communications with the sea, 120 miles distant, are guarded by foreign forces; that the whole of the metropolitan province may be said to be in foreign military occupation; that Manchuria is overrun by Russian troops; that Shanghai has a garrison furnished by four European Powers; that the world is still shuddering at the memory of a terrible massacre of Christians, European, American, and Chinese; and that the Chinese people are cursing foreign nations because of the burden of an indemnity rendered intolerable by the exactions of their own officials. If the Chinese themselves are largely to blame for this wretched result—and certainly they are to blame—that does not suggest that they find the position less irksome. . . . Is it imaginable that a nation of such experiences as China garnered during the nineteenth

[1] *New Forces in Old China*, 1904, Arthur Judson Brown, p. 213.

century, should take foreigners to its bosom and treat them with confidence and friendship?"[1]

And is it remarkable that the Chinese nation should regard their treaty relations with the rest of the world as a humiliation, see "no benefit accruing from them," and "be looking forward to the day when it in turn will be strong enough to revert to its old life again, and do away with foreign intercourse, interference, and intrusion"?[2]

The few years which have passed since those words were written have, without doubt, seen the inauguration of great changes in China. What the result of them will be none can tell, and even their present effect there is no sufficient evidence to show. But we are here solely concerned with the past; and the statement has been freely made that, in that past, the staple objection to Christianity was that it was foreign. And if the Chinese objected to foreigners and foreign ideas, perhaps they were not altogether unreasonable!

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., pp. 221-2-3.

[2] *These from the Land of Sinim*, 1901, Sir Robert Hart, Bt., G.C.M.G., p. 51.

CHAPTER III

THE INFLUENCE AND EXAMPLE OF THE EUROPEAN

In the previous chapters we have seen that the result of the intercourse of China with the Christian nations collectively has been that owing to "systematically harsh treatment" she stores up in her bosom "a fund of the deepest resentment" towards them. We have now to investigate how far the conduct of the individual citizens of those nations has been calculated to assuage that feeling, and to inspire the Chinese with respect for the Christianity which they profess, by the principles of which they claim to be guided, and which so many of their compatriots have come to China to teach.

First, and in general. "Under the guidance, mainly of the so-called progressive school, it has come to such a pass in the West, that oppression and the exploiting of the other peoples of the world has been reduced to a system under the specious pretext of spreading civilisation. There has grown up with respect to China, and Western relations with her, a set of opinions which I must try to describe. These opinions are summed up in the proud feeling of the mastery of Western civilisation, and a blind contempt for all other civilisations whatever. From this there results the disposition to introduce everywhere, and especially by means of force, under the empty name of progress, the mental anarchy and unregulated industrialism which are becoming more and more prevalent in the West."[1]

[1] *General View of Chinese Civilisation*, 1887, M. Pierre Laffitte, p. 114.

And now to come to particulars, and proceed as far as possible in order of time. In 1838, one of the British residents at the Canton Factories wrote :—

"Life and business were a conundrum as insoluble as the Sphinx : everything worked smoothly by acting in direct opposition to what we were told to do. . . . We were threatened and re-threatened with the 'direst penalties' if we sold foreign mud (opium) to the people ; truly, forbearance could no longer be exercised. Yet we continued to sell the drug as usual. Our receiving ships at Lintin must no longer loiter at that anchorage, but forthwith come into port, or return to their respective countries. . . . 'Cruisers would be sent to open their irresistible broadsides' upon the foreign ships. Yet, in spite of these terrors the ships never budged. We were 'forbidden to wander about, except three times a month, and that not without a linguist,' but we walked wherever we pleased, and the linguist was the last person we saw."[1]

A British witness examined by a Parliamentary Committee, in London, some years later, stated candidly :—"We never paid any attention to any law in China that I recollect."[2]

In a memorandum relative to Lord Elgin's mission of 1857, Mr (afterwards Sir R.) Alcock stated that :— "Exemption from territorial jurisdiction was a great step in advance ; but it brought with it an evil progeny. Contempt for all Chinese authority, and disregard of inherent rights, habitual infraction of treaty stipulations, license and violence, wherever the offscum of the European nations found access and peaceable people to plunder ; such were the first-fruits of this important concession, and time only served to increase their growth. . . . The governments of Europe have yet to learn the magnitude of the danger their interests are continually incurring, not from the incidents of a civil

[1] *China, etc.*, 1904, Captain R. F. Brinkley, vol. x., pp. 241-2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

war, or the inherent perversity of the Chinese race, but from the absence of all due control in China over the natives of every country in Europe and America, and the indifference with which all the evils resulting from unrestrained license continue to be regarded even by the Treaty Powers."[1]

On 12th April 1859, the same Consul Alcock informed Sir J. Bowring that, "acts of violence and fraud connected with the Coolie Traffic at this port [Canton] have lately reached such a pitch of atrocity, that a general feeling of alarm spread through the population, accompanied by the degree of excitement and popular indignation which rendered it no longer possible or safe for any authority interested in the peace to remain inactive. The intolerable extent and character of the evil has thus tended to work its own cure. When no man could leave his own house, even in public thoroughfares, and in open day, without a danger of being hustled, under false pretences of debt or delinquency, and carried off a prisoner in the hands of crimps, to be sold to the purveyors of coolies at so much a head, and carried off to sea, never again to be heard of, the whole population of the city and adjoining district were roused to a sense of common peril. That, under such circumstances, the people should attempt to protect themselves by administering a wild justice of their own upon the persons of any of the nefarious gangs of crimps that fell into their hands, was a natural consequence of the supineness of the authorities. And accordingly, within the last ten days, several of the kidnappers have been killed by the mob, and with the vindictive cruelty to which the Cantonese, under less provocation, are well known to be addicted."[2]

After describing the running down by a steamer, on the Woo-Sung River, of a native craft laden with

[1] *International Policy* (Reprint 1884), John Henry Bridges, pp. 302-3.

[2] Parliamentary Paper, Correspondence respecting Emigration from Canton, 1860, p. 1.

bricks, and manned by a crew of four Chinese who were drowned, Professor Raphael Pumpelly, who witnessed the incident, which took place about 1860, remarks :—"The instance I have cited admitted of no excuse, as a few minutes' time could be of no importance on a pleasure excursion. It has long been the practice of foreign vessels to run into and sink any junk or boat that may be in their way, no matter how crowded with passengers these may be, and hardly a day passed without a boat being thus sunk in Chinese waters. After such an experience, I was not surprised to see foreigners walking through crowded streets, and incessantly belabouring the heads of men, women, and children, with heavy walking sticks to open a path, nor at the constant occurrence of similar abuses, engendered and encouraged by the absence of any means of redress on the part of the natives. I would not be understood as bringing a sweeping charge against all the foreign inhabitants of China. There are many noble exceptions, but such are powerless beyond the sphere of their own employees."[1]

On 27th April 1863, Mr Vice-Consul Adkins, of Chinkiang, wrote: — "I very much fear that the foreigners trading on this river in sailing boats, are, almost without exception, men without principle or character; outlaws in fact, who have no regard for treaties or regulations, and who look on the Chinese as made for them to prey on. Their drunken and debauched habits have made an impression even on the Chinese."[2]

About 1867, Mr Coffin, an American traveller, was to be heard of at Macao—"Macao, where," says Captain Brinkley concerning a period a few years previous, "foreign pirates took refuge, and where barracoons yearly received twenty-five thousand Chinese subjects, kidnapped, or decoyed by false pretences to sell them-

[1] *Across America and Asia*, 1870, Raphael Pumpelly, p. 206.
[2] "International Policy," *Essay* No. V., p. 294.

selves into a life of exile and hardship."[1] Of Macao, Mr Coffin tells us :—"If a person wishes to lead a lazy, careless, good-for-nothing life, Macao is the place for him. . . . Society imposes no restraints on morality ; there is no necessity for troubling the priest to pronounce the marriage vow ; they only ask for absolution when death steals on apace."[2]

In 1869, Rev. John L. Nevius remarked that, at the ports, "the Chinese being every day brought into contact with drunken sailors, swearing sea-captains, and unscrupulous traders from the West, new lessons are constantly learned from them in the school of duplicity and immorality."[3]

The foreign resident of 1870 does not seem to have interested himself in the work of Christianity. "The majority of our countrymen," said Mr Muirhead, of the London Missionary Society, "are as ignorant of us, and our missionary work, as we are of them in their commercial pursuits. There is little or no communication between us. We regret it, on various grounds, and take our share of the blame connected with it."[4] Nor does contact with him appear to have improved the Chinese. Of one of his journeys, Rev. Alexander Williamson remarks :—"I heard English words spoken by passers, who wished to let us know their accomplishments—often a bad sign, as English-speaking Chinese are generally great rogues, having to pass through a course, not only of Chinese wickedness, but of foreign wickedness in learning the language."[5]

Writing concerning Tientsin about this time, Professor Parker tells us that "the Chinese ask themselves why men who teach persons how to be good are not

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 15.

[2] *Our New Way round the World*, 1883, Charles Carleton Coffin, p. 290.

[3] *China and the Chinese*, 1869, Rev. John L. Nevius, p. 277.

[4] *China and the Gospel*, 1870, Rev. William Muirhead, p. 205.

[5] *Journeys in North China*, 1870, Rev. Alexander Williamson, B.A., p. 190.

more appreciated and respected by their own people; how it is that Europeans (as they did then more than they do now) live openly in a way which their pastors condemn; how it is that the missionaries and merchants keep so much apart, and speak with so little respect of each other."[1]

The "blessings of civilisation" had evidently found their way to Peking in 1871, as Mr Thomson "saw two or three men who were driving a trade in magic pictures, and foreign stereoscopic photographs, some not in the most refined style of art; and as for the peep-shows—well, the less one says about them the better; they certainly would not be tolerated in any public thoroughfare in Europe."[2] This was noticed also in the following year by Baron Richtofen, who remarks:—"Nothing has worked so forcibly in the interior of China to bring foreigners into general contempt, and nothing contributes so much to the insults to which the traveller is occasionally exposed, as the importation of stereoscopic pictures of a certain most vulgar class. . . . They are exhibited by itinerant showmen, who travel with a stereoscopic apparatus. From the gates of Peking to the place before the Temple of Si-ngan-fu, and to the remotest towns and villages, chiefly as far as the influence of Tientsin extends, I found them everywhere."[3]

In the same year—1872—Mr Consul Medhurst expressed his opinion, that "as for any moral influence that foreigners may exercise by their mere presence in the country, it may be regarded as simply *nil*. . . . Indeed, if anything, the influence has tended the other way, for I have found, as a rule, that Chinese do not improve by being brought into intimacy with foreigners, and by adoption, as a consequence, of their habits and

[1] *China past and present*, 1903, Professor E. H. Parker, p. 97.

[2] *Through China with a Camera*, 1898, John Thomson, F.R.G.S., p. 244.

[3] *Letter by Baron Richtofen to Shanghai Chamber of Commerce*, No. VII., 1872, p. 25.

ideas. The few Europeanised Chinese that are to be met with are, with very rare exceptions, most insufferable creatures."[1]

Commenting on "the wide breach which separates the missionaries from the bulk of the foreign community," about 1875, Hon. H. N. Shore thinks "we cannot reasonably expect the millions of China, to accept our much vaunted tokens of superiority; our civilisation, our arts and sciences, and last but not least Christianity, when they find us divided among ourselves as to their relative advantages, and that we do not practise our own teaching. When they find many, not only setting Christianity at nought, but ridiculing and vilifying its professors, and persistently obstructing their efforts to spread its doctrines abroad, the Chinese are scarcely likely to form a very high opinion of the nations these people represent; and instead of welcoming the efforts which are being made on their behalf, they are more likely to look with suspicion on those who are working for their good, and without waiting to detect the impostors from the real benefactors, to repudiate the advances of all."[2]

"In regard to morality and religion, the Chinese nation has not yet discovered our superiority. . . . The foreign name is deservedly associated with the opium trade . . . the coolie traffic . . . the whole bloody train of war, unjustified by any adequate cause, including spoliation and dire vengeance on the innocent, has come in swift ships from West to East. Under the auspices of lawful commerce, pictures are imported from Europe, among which are found large quantities of stereoscopic views of the vilest and most obscene character, displaying before the eye vices and crimes of our race which we would blush to name. The author himself [Rev. Dr Wheeler] has more than once been filled with hot indig-

[1] *The Foreigner in Far Cathay*, 1872, W. H. Medhurst, p. 176.

[2] *The Flight of the "Lapwing,"* 1881, Hon. Henry Noel Shore, R.N., p. 441.

nation at seeing these views publicly exhibited on the streets of Peking. They are scattered far and wide throughout the country; and it is believed that in many of the interior cities, Chinamen might be found who are making large incomes by showing them to hundreds of natives daily."[1]

"Foreign merchants and traders in China," continues Dr Wheeler, who wrote in 1881, "with frequent and most honourable exceptions, are not in sympathy with the work of Christian missions. . . . The missionary . . . has no time to labour for their spiritual well-being, but cannot always repress his indignation. . . . He denounces the cupidity and vices of his own countrymen, who, in turn, denounce him; and unhappily, innocent parties are sometimes involved. . . . This breach is constantly widening, the effect being to multiply a peculiar class of difficulty always to be accounted formidable."[2]

In 1885, we find Major Knollys recording his impressions of the Protestant Cathedral at Shanghai. "The only fault I can find with the building is that it is of a size and internal splendour absurdly in excess of the requirements of the English Protestant residents, and the money thus spent might have been far more usefully employed in improving the local clerical administration . . . the tiny congregation looks even more tiny in contrast with the dreary array of empty seats. . . . In addition to the Cathedral there is a Wesleyan place of worship, the frequenters whereof set a conspicuous example of humble sincerity, while their affiliated temperance society effects immense good amongst those who can abstain but cannot be moderate."[3]

We may now glance at Hong-Kong. In 1859, we learn from Mr Douglas, that "the effect on the public

[1] *The Foreigner in China*, 1881, Rev. L. N. Wheeler, D.D., p. 188.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 247-8.
[3] *English Life in China*, 1885, Major Henry Knollys, R.A., p. 95.

morals of our own countrymen is terribly injurious; the Colonial Government of Hong-Kong, after first licensing opium shops, soon proceeded to license houses for nameless debauchery, and now actually derives an income from that polluted source—a very logical and consistent conclusion to such premises as opium traffic and unlicensed opium dens. . . . A Chinaman lately said to a missionary:—'Only persuade the foreigners to cease bringing opium, and I will set you yourself up as my God, and worship none beside you.'"[1]

In 1884, Dr Fortescue Fox gave his impressions of Hong-Kong, where, he says, there are, of course, "Englishmen of earnestness and ability, who are exerting themselves by writing and speech to stimulate intellectual life, raise the tone of the colony and establish worthier relations with the Chinese. But, with these honourable exceptions, and speaking of the average Englishman, the visitor is painfully impressed by a certain mental and bodily sloth, and narrow intolerant ideas, in which an ungenerous contempt of the Chinaman is sadly conspicuous. . . . Will Hong-Kong become a second Macao? The standard of life and thought of some of these places [the English Settlements in the Far East] seems to the visitor most unsatisfactory. Great numbers are mere pleasure hunters; a few, who prefer dollars to pleasure, are set down as misers. Beyond that, what is there? a good Bishop, a large Cathedral, and a small congregation. . . . To-day Hong-Kong is wealthy, populous, and influential: let her also be sober, humane, and just, for close at hand is Macao!"[2]

To this "large Cathedral" went Major Knollys, to whom it appeared that, "inside and outside, the building is all that could be reasonably wished, architecturally handsome, fitted up with good taste, comfortable, large and roomy; almost sadly roomy, since the space

[1] *Glimpses of Mission Work in China*, 1860, section by C. Douglas, p. 66.

[2] *Observations in China*, 1884, Fortescue Fox, M.B.(Lond.), pp. 53-5.

available for about two thousand is only occupied by a scanty congregation of four or five hundred. The majority of our countrymen seem to have left their religion behind them in England. In every point of view, practical and theoretical, it is but coldly regarded here. . . ."[1]

In 1885, we find Mr Colquhoun complaining that "the public possesses no library worthy of the name, while the condition of its Public Library, which has a nucleus of old and valuable works, reflects little credit on so wealthy and enterprising a community. The merchants are too busy to attend to such matters I am told; but they subscribe liberally whenever exploration or any public object is in question. The Government has neither maps nor library of any value. If commercial or political information, regarding the countries with which the future of the place is bound up, be wanted at any time, it must actually be got from London. The only good library on the China coast is found at Shanghai . . . maintained by the money and enterprise of the commercial community. Even Foochow and Canton possess better means of study or reference than Hong-Kong."[2]

Rev. John A. Turner, who was in Hong-Kong about the end of 1886, found that "a great improvement has taken place of late years, though even now a higher tone might be given to society with great advantage . . . the number of virtuous families is increasing, and the Churches do their utmost to stem the tide of evil."[3]

The result of these praiseworthy efforts does not seem to have been satisfactory to Rev. Dr Mutchmore, who, writing five years later, informs us that "every

[1] *English Life in China*, 1885, Major Henry Knollys, R.A., p. 40.

[2] *English Policy in the Far East*, 1885, Archibald R. Colquhoun, F.R.G.S., pp. 8-9.

[3] *Kwang-Tung; or, Five years in South China*, 1895, John A. Turner, p. 105.

conceivable form of sin lives and thrives. . . . Prostitution is simply appalling."[1]

Mr Norman described Hong-Kong in 1895 as "an Arcadia for criminals of the neighbouring province, who first plan their outrages there, and then take refuge in it when their *coup* has been effected. If the hue and cry after them becomes too hot, they commit some small offence against the laws of the Colony, with a view of getting committed to prison for a few months, under which circumstances they are absolutely safe against the pursuit of detectives from their own country."[2]

In the same year, the Inspector of Schools, commenting on a scheme to provide non-compulsory religious education in the Chinese schools of the Island, remarks: "That Sir J. Davis was to some extent a religious visionary, may be inferred from a despatch (13th March 1847) in which he commended his scheme to the Colonial Office by saying that, 'If these schools were eventually placed in charge of native Christian teachers, bred up by the Protestant missionaries, it would afford the most rational prospect of converting the native population of the island.' *Sancta simplicitas!*"[3] Of the schools mentioned, the Inspector tells us that, though they failed to produce a single native minister, or any official interpreter, many of the best educated native residents received their training therein. On the other hand some of the scholars "gained, at different times, an unenviable notoriety in Police Court cases. Hence the public drew the inference that in the case of Chinese youths, an English education, even when conducted on a religious basis, fails to effect any moral reform, and rather tends

[1] *Moghul, Mongol, Mikado, and Missionary*, 1891, Samuel A. Mutchmore, D.D., vol. ii., pp. 79-80.

[2] *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, 1895, Henry Norman, p. 27.

[3] *Europe in China*, 1895, E. J. Eitel, Ph.D. (Inspector of Schools, Hong-Kong), p. 247.

to draw out the vicious elements inherent in the Chinese character. . . . As the mercantile public became severe critics of the labours of the missionaries, the latter came to look upon Hong-Kong as a 'stumbling-block to the progress of Christianity and civilisation in China.'"[1]

On the last day of 1898, Lord Charles Beresford visited an opium farm in Hong-Kong, where he was shown "the manner in which the opium was prepared. The present opium farmer has a contract with the Government for three years at a rent of £3100 a month. He sells an average of eight to ten tins of opium a day. The tins are about 9 ins. by 6 ins., and contain about £30 worth of opium, thus making £7200 to £9000 a month. The trade would appear to be a very lucrative one. The opium farmer is known to be the largest smuggler of opium into the country. If he did not smuggle he could not afford to pay the large rent demanded by the Government. Thus, indirectly, the Hong-Kong Government derives a revenue by fostering an illegitimate trade with a neighbouring and friendly power, which cannot be said to redound to the credit of the British Government."[2]

In 1899, we find M. Edmund Plauchut enlarging on the attractions of Hong-Kong, as he had found them at the time of his visit. "In spite of its popularity and importance, however, the town is anything but a pleasant place to stop in, and the foreign visitor soon gets tired of being jostled about by busy coolies and tipsy sailors. The chief delight of the latter is to get drunk in the brandy-stores of Victoria Street, and then to dance, not, strange to say, with women, but without partners, to the music of a violin and a big drum. In the evening, the floating and resident population alike resort in crowds to the opium-dens and houses of ill-fame in the upper portions of the town. No one seems

[1] *Europe in China*, pp. 280-1.

[2] *The Break-up of China*, 1899, Lord Charles Beresford, pp. 211-12.

to feel any shame at being seen to enter these places, the windows of which are wide open, so that all can look into the brightly illuminated rooms, whence proceeds the sound of oaths in all manner of languages, whilst the loud clash of gongs mingles with the muffled songs of the Chinese beauties, and every now and then a shower of crackers is flung into the street below, bursting into zig-zags of fire on the heads of the startled passers-by."[1]

"Not unjustly," observes M. Plauchut, "have many medical men called attention to the indulgence in wine and brandy of the European residents in China, especially in Hong-Kong, and suggested that the missionaries should begin their reforms at home, and before inveighing against Chinese vices, they should endeavour to win converts to sobriety amongst their own fellow-countrymen."[2]

And we may conclude at Hong-Kong with Sir Robert Hart's opinion in 1901. "Hong-Kong has long been a centre of opium smuggling and trade in arms and contraband salt, and round this lawlessness flock all the adventurers of the south."[3]

To return to the mainland of China. At the English Church on the Shamin, at Canton, we should have found the foreign resident in the "eighties" without a pastor at all. "Formerly a clergyman was resident here, but of late years missionaries of various societies have given one or two Sundays each to keep up the services."[4] One of the resident clergy referred to was thus appreciated by Baron de Hübner, a Catholic nobleman, in 1871. Ven. Archdeacon Gray has "exercised his ministry here for nineteen years. The most busy time of his life coincides with the occupation of Canton by

[1] *China and the Chinese*, 1899, Edmund Plauchut (translated and edited by Mrs Arthur Bell), p. 10. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 179-80.

[3] *These from the Land of Sinim*, 1901, Sir Robert Hart, Bt., G.C.M.G., p. 128.

[4] *Kwang-Tung; or, Five Years in South China*, 1895, John A. Turner, p. 39.

the English, when war and sickness, even more than Chinese balls, cut short so many young lives. It was then that the Cantonese became accustomed to see this good man in his cylindrical hat, white cravat, and long black great coat, rushing from hospital to hospital, and from port to port, tending the sick, consoling the dying, and burying the dead. It was from that moment that dates the reverend gentleman's great popularity."[1]

On 3rd September 1888, a Protestant missionary —Rev. A. Williamson, LL.D.—gave his testimony in a paper on "Missionary Organisation in China," read at Chefoo. "The startling, though it is not the most serious, aspect of the question, is that not only is heathenism extending, but immorality is increasing in all directions. . . . Those of us who have lived long in China see the evil spreading before our eyes, especially in and around our great emporiums, with an ever-widening area every year. The Chinese are learning evil faster than they are learning good. They are adding foreign vices to their own, aping foreign free-living and habits, often in the most powerful manner; and the fact is, that in and around our centres of commerce, they are less honest, less moral, and less susceptible to the preaching of Divine Truth than formerly by a long way. . . . Yes, contact with Western civilisation is proving no unmixed blessing to China. . . . Further, we are not rising in the respect or esteem of the Chinese as we expected. A few years ago there was a general sense of satisfaction among us at the attitude shown to us by many, both officials, wealthy civilians, and literary men. Now, a change is perceptible in all directions. They respect us less than they used to do, receive our visits less readily. We find it more difficult to rent or buy houses, and so on."[2]

[1] *A Ramble round the World*, 1874, M. le Baron de Hübner (translated by Lady Herbert), vol. ii., p. 382.

[2] *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, January 1889, pp.21-2.

At the Shanghai Conference of 1890, in discussing the "Relation of Missions to Foreign Residents," Ven. Archdeacon Moule alluded to "the dismal truth which requires no evidence; it is so apparent that very many with the Christian name are living exactly as they ought *not* to live. . . ."[1]

At the same Conference, Rev. Dr Mateer gave it as his opinion that the Chinese who is educated in English "naturally considers it his chief stock in trade, and expects to live by it. The result is that by natural necessity he is attracted to a foreign port, and finds his place in connection with foreign trade, or in *yamêns* having to do with foreign affairs. In such positions his influence for good on his own people generally counts for but little. Moreover, as experience shows, the wreck of his moral character is the common result, and his life counts as so much against instead of for the truth. If, on the other hand, he is educated in his own language, he remains amongst his own people. His moral character is conserved."[2]

And Rev. D. Z. Sheffield laid down that "Christianity is needed in the incoming education to protect China against the evils of Western civilisation. Already the use of opium is filling China with wretchedness and misery. . . . The evils of intemperance are being aggravated by contact with Western civilisation, and social impurity becomes more public and unblushing. Western civilisation multiplies luxuries, that both stimulate and minister to a refined selfishness. A wider scope is given to the pursuit of riches, pleasure, and all the objects of self-gratification. Thus Western civilisation, divorced from Christianity, is already adding new evils to China, Japan, and India; to the old evils that inhere in these heathen civilisations; and the dark moral record in history only opens into a darker moral outlook in the future."[3]

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 463. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 473-4.

In a letter to the *North China Daily News* of 21st July 1891, one who signed himself "A Chinese," saw, in the support of missionaries by foreign governments, an insult to the Chinese people. This, because the high Chinese officials, who now employ technical and educated foreigners, see that these latter do not believe in what the missionaries say: and "while the Consuls are seen ordering up gunboats for the support of the mission cause, the very coolies in their consulates know that the missionaries, as a body, are not looked up to by the better class of foreigners as their moral teachers."[1]

"A Chinese" is understood to be Kaw Hong-Beng [? Ku Hung-Ming], M.A. of Edinburgh, and lately Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy of Hunan and Hupeh, who, "though trained," says Dr Morrison, "in the most pious and earnest Community in the United Kingdom . . . is openly hostile to the introduction of Christianity into China."[2] If edification cannot be aroused by the spectacle of the European at home, it may well be that the case for his influence and example in China is hopeless.

"From whatever cause," wrote Lord Curzon, in 1894, "the missionaries, as a class, are rarely popular with their own countrymen. Indeed, one of the most striking phenomena of English-speaking society in the countries to which I have referred, is the absolute severance of its two main component items, the missionaries and the merchants, neither of whom think or speak over favourably of the other, and who are rarely seen at each other's table. The missionary is offended at what he regards as the mere selfish quest of lucre; the merchant sneers at work which is apt to parade a very sanctimonious expression, and sometimes

[1] *The Anti-Foreign Riots in China in* 1891, 1892 (*North China Herald* Office), p. 109.

[2] *An Australian in China*, 1895, G. E. Morrison, M.B., C.M., F.R.G.S., pp. 4-5.

results in nothing at all. I have come to the conclusion that it is futile to apportion the blame between the two parties, or to hope that any argument can effect a reconciliation. There are, of course, many cases where no such divergence exists, and where a harmony of interest and intercourse prevails; but I have not found them sufficiently numerous to invalidate the general proposition."[1]

In 1895, Mr Norman could say:—"As for any moral influence that foreigners may exercise by their presence in the country, it may be regarded as absolutely *nil*. I believe this to be absolutely true." It may be remembered that, more than twenty years before, Mr Consul Medhurst had expressed the same opinion in the same words. "The reader may naturally be inclined to reply," continues Mr Norman, "that in the face of so many years of devoted missionary work, and the large sums of money that are yearly subscribed in England to support this, such a statement is incredible. My answer is that from the missionaries themselves come some of the strongest testimonies in support of the assertion of declining foreign influence. I once asked a Roman Catholic priest whom I met in China, and of whose character and knowledge I formed the highest opinion, if he believed that the result of missionary enterprise would result, even in the fulness of time, in anything that could be remotely described as the Christianising of China. '*Jamais!*' he replied, emphatically. 'Then,' said I, 'why are you here?' 'I am here,' he replied, 'simply in obedience to the command to preach the Gospel to all peoples. Like the soldiers in the ranks, I obey the orders of my commander, without understanding in the least what good is to come of them.' Yet no missionary who has been in China for centuries has achieved such extraordinary victories, or has a position of so much power as this man."

[1] *Problems of the Far East*, 1894, Hon. George N. Curzon, M.P., p. 425.

Having quoted from the paper read at Chefoo by Dr Williamson, already referred to, Mr Norman proceeds to cite a "Review of the Volume of Customs Reports for last year," in which "the British Minister to China forwards, and therefore approves, a report written by one of his subordinates, which concludes with these striking words :—'I hardly venture to make any comments of my own upon the pages I have reviewed; but in one word, I consider that the conclusion of the whole matter inevitably is that the trade conducted by foreigners in China has made but little progress during the ten years 1882-1891; that it does not promise any immediate or considerable advance; and that foreign interests and influence therein have decreased and deteriorated to an appreciable extent.'"[1]

In 1897, Mr Macgowan informs us concerning the English Church at Amoy, which, it appears, is "an unpretentious, but an exceedingly useful and comfortable, place of worship. The architect who designed it had evidently the comfort both of the preacher and of the congregation in view, rather than an architectural style, that might have been more rigidly ecclesiastical, but that would not have conduced to the pleasure of religious worship. It is light and airy with large windows guarded by venetians on the outside. The pews consist of five sittings, each one in the form of an arm-chair, in which the worshipper can sit with the greatest comfort; for he is not only protected against any crowding by his neighbours, but he is also secured a position of perfect ease, for the backs of these chairs have been made at the precise angle that secures absolute rest to the person who occupies them. The services are conducted by resident missionaries, one Sunday the Episcopal service being used, and the next the Nonconformist, so as to meet the wishes of the different sections of the Community."[2]

[1] *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, 1895, Henry Norman, pp. 280-1-2.
[2] *Pictures of Southern China*, 1897, Rev. J. Macgowan, p. 151.

In 1900, Mr Will remarks that "it is noticeable that the moral degradation, of which hasty foreign observers have written so much, is chiefly to be found in the coast cities where the natives come into contact with Europeans and Americans."[1]

In the same year, Miss Scidmore, who made "seven visits to China in the last fifteen years," as she tells us, wrote :—"Where fashion drives, there 'Chineses drive,' and the Bubbling Well Road, once the resort of the high cart and the closed brougham of British good form and high life, now rattles with anything that can go on wheels, and be crowded with gay and gilded 'young China,' callow sinners and mature scoundrels in splendid satins, all smoking large cigars, who have adopted and adapted all Western vices and modes of dissipation. They have their theatres and restaurants and gambling houses, of course, and in fine travesty of the foreign community, their 'country-clubs' and tea-gardens, where young China enjoys cycloramas, spectacles, and distractions, varied with flower shows very well worth seeing. This much of Western life they have approached to, but nothing so discourages one for the future of China and the chances of progress as this daily display of young China in its hours of ease. Combining all of domestic and imported depravity, these young Chinese of the merchant and comprador class, longest in contact with foreign ways, well entitle Shanghai to its repute in their world as the fastest and wickedest place in China."[2]

"The stranger," says Miss Scidmore, elsewhere, "of course wishes to visit the old city of Shanghai, but he should repress his enthusiasm in the presence of the foreign resident, and never, under any circumstances, no matter what powerful letters he may present, what ties of kinship or bonds of old friendship he may claim,

[1] *World-Crisis in China*, 1900, Allen S. Will, p. 166.

[2] *China, the Long-lived Empire*, 1900, Eliza Ruhama Scidmore, pp. 286-7.

expect the foreign resident to accompany him there. Nor any more should he talk about the excursion in polite Shanghai circles afterwards. In all boredom nothing so bores the resident as the globe-trotter's tales of his slumming in the native city. The resident has usually never been there, or he may apologetically explain that he did go there once, years ago, when he first came, when he was a 'griffin,' otherwise a 'tenderfoot,' in the Far East."[1]

In the year 1900 occurred the siege of the Foreign Legations in Peking. Of this there is only one matter which calls for notice here. We learn from Rev. F. Brown, of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, Peking, who was attached to the Intelligence Department of the Allied Forces:—"On their arrival at the Legations, there was some hesitation about finding accommodation for the native Christian refugees, and Professor James of the Imperial University lost his life that day, while seeking for quarters for the poor helpless converts, who had accepted Christianity for their faith, and were now in danger of finding 'no room in the inn,' yet this is what happened to their Lord and Master. To Dr Morrison, the *Times* correspondent, belongs not a little of the credit of saving the native Christians from being turned loose into the Boxer lines to be murdered. A place was found for them at last; and it is well that this was so, for all the barricades here, as well as in Tientsin, were built by the native Christians, under the supervision of the missionaries."[2]

Rev. Roland Allen further informs us that by rescuing the Catholic converts and bringing them in, Dr Morrison opened the way for Protestant missionaries to insist on their right to bring in their Christians, which had "up to this date been steadily refused by the Foreign Ministers, and was never openly admitted by

[1] *China, the Long-lived Empire*, pp. 290-1.

[2] *From Tientsin to Peking with the Allied Forces*, 1902, Rev. Frederick Brown, F.R.G.S., pp. 52-3.

them, until the event proved that we could not possibly have been saved without the Christians."[1] "When the question had come up in regard to them, some days previously," says Rev. Dr Martin, "in a council of Ministers, some members of the diplomatic corps objected to receiving so large a body of natives, on account of the danger of running short of provisions. The missionaries, however, had resolved to live or die with their converts, and their noble devotion was fully appreciated by the American and British Ministers, as well as by the greater part of the diplomatic body."[2] And we gather from the *Shanghai Mercury*, that "the men among the refugees proved of incalculable service in the manual work and the work of fortifying. Though many of the Europeans cared nothing about saving the converts, they were quick enough to accept the indispensable help which the Chinese rendered."[3]

Concerning the expedition for the relief of the Legations, we are informed by Mr Lynch, who accompanied it, "there are things that I must not write, and that may not be printed in England, which would seem to show that this Western civilisation of ours is merely a veneer over savagery. The actual truth has never been written about any war, and this will be no exception."[4] The events are summed up for us by the Inspector-General of Chinese Customs in these words:—"From Taku to Peking the foreigner has marched triumphantly; there have only been a few fights, and every foot of ground has not had to be contested, but yet every hamlet, or village, or town along the way has the mark of the avenger on it: populations have disappeared, houses and buildings have been burnt and destroyed, and crops are rotting all over the country

[1] *The Siege of the Peking Legations*, 1901, Rev. Roland Allen, M.A., p. 86.

[2] *The Siege in Pekin*, 1900, W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D., p. 120.

[3] "The Boxer Rising, 1900," reprinted from *The Shanghai Mercury*, p. 93.

[4] *The War of the Civilisations*, 1901, George Lynch, pp. 142-3.

in the absence of reapers. Remembering how these places teemed with happy, contented, industrious people last spring, it is hard to realise that autumn does not find them there—they have all vanished, and that along the hundred and twenty miles between beach and capital scarcely a sign of life is to be seen, and one cannot help sorrowing over the necessity or the fatality which brought about such woe and desolation. Much of the destruction was doubtless the work of Chinese soldiers and Boxer volunteers, but, according to all accounts, what they left, we gleaned, and, if report speaks true, little mercy was felt, and less displayed, by some, at least, wherever living Chinese of any age or either sex happened to be fallen in with."[1] "The men of one flag showed their detestation of the most ancient of civilisations by the wanton destruction of whatever they could not carry off; those of another preached the gospel of cleanliness by shooting down anyone who committed a nuisance in public; whilst those of a third spread their ideas on the sanctity of family life by breaking into private houses, and ravishing the women and girls they found there: so said gossip."[2]

Amid such happenings, looting was, perhaps, a mere detail. "This China expedition has been the biggest looting excursion since the days of Pizarro." Thus, Mr Lynch.[3] "The air of this town fairly reeks with loot," Mr Chamberlin tells us. "Loot is the word most often heard. From all I can gather, everybody stole everything that was in sight when the troops came here. It made no difference who the man was—he was robbed if he was Chinese. He might have devoted weeks and months to the service of the Christians. It was a crime for him to be Chinese, and he was despoiled of any property he might be possessed of."[4]

[1] *These from the Land of Sinim*, 1901, Sir Robert Hart, Bt., G.C.M.G., p. 85. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[3] *The War of the Civilisations*, p. 179.

[4] *Ordered to China*, 1904, Letters of Wilbur J. Chamberlin, p. 99.

"The wretched people who had been plundered or otherwise ill-used," says Mr Putnam Weale, "had already fallen into the habit of asking from the soldiery for some scrap of writing, which would prove that they had contributed their quota, and might therefore be exempted from further looting. Scrawled in soldiers' hands were such things as, '*Défense absolue de piller: nous autres avons tout pris*'; or 'No looting permitted. This show is cleaned out.' Everywhere these signs were to be seen."[1]

Nor did the Imperial Chambers escape:—"The Winter Palace was visited during the winter by many thousand persons, military and civil, and later by a stream of tourists . . . from the very first opening of these apartments to the select circle, the curios and bric-à-brac began to disappear, until, ere weeks had passed, nothing portable was left in sight . . . all that is really valuable having been removed to some other sphere of usefulness. As the restrictions upon entering became more stringent, the number of doors closed up . . . multiplied. . . . And the public was politely requested not to kick the Chinese attendants because they declined to open doors which they were forbidden to unlock."[2] "'One cannot go without a *souvenir*.' That word *souvenir* was the formula which every one had been seeking for. Once found, they all breathed and plundered freely,"[3] says Dr Dillon. "It was here," Mrs Archibald Little relates, "a lady said to me with indignation: 'Is it not horrid the way these eunuchs keep so close to us?' 'Well, you see, they do not know what kind of people we are, and it is their duty to see that we do not spoil or take anything.' 'That's just it, how can I?' she said with exceeding irritation."[4]

[1] *Indiscreet Letters from Peking*, 1907, edited by B. L. Putnam Weale, pp. 253-4.

[2] *China in Convulsion*, 1901, Arthur H. Smith, vol. ii., pp. 529-30.

[3] *The Chinese Wolf and the European Lamb* (*Contemp. Rev.*, January 1901), Dr E. J. Dillon, p. 29.

[4] *Round about my Peking Garden*, 1905, Mrs Archibald Little, p. 19.

And the Temple of Heaven would seem to have been laid under contribution too. At Tientsin, we learn from Mr Savage-Landor, "there was a great demand for Peking loot, printed notices, such as the following, being actually posted up and circulated in the settlement:—'Wanted to buy, some of the dark blue porcelain vessels taken from the Temple of Heaven at Pekin. Apply to H. *c/o* Tientsin Press.'"[1]

"And yet," laments the Inspector-General once more, "looking back on it all, and granting that fires and plunderings in the capital were mainly the work of soldiers and Boxers, it does seem a pity that the splendid warriors of Christian Powers should have made things worse: could not discipline and fine feeling have put an earlier check on the men and placed revenge on a higher plane? What with commandeering here, looting there, carrying off souvenirs elsewhere, and brutal assaults on the poor women who had not been able to leave the city with the other fugitives, private property in temporarily deserted houses disappeared, and the comparatively small number of Chinese who remained drank to the dregs the cup of a new misery."[2]

To follow on the testimony. In 1902, Mrs Archibald Little asks:—"Where in all the civilised world will you find the European churches so little frequented as in China? I am often reminded of a Commissioner of Customs' remark: 'The Chinese have done more to heathenise the English than the English with all their missions to Christianise them.' . . . I wondered what the subtle influence was that even had conquered the conquering Manchus . . . does the common saying: 'The Chinese care for nothing but money, talk of nothing but money,' explain it at all? So far I could not make out that it was anything else the Europeans wanted to get out of the Chinese. Even the very

[1] *China and the Allies*, 1901, A. Henry Savage-Landor, vol. ii., p. 412.
[2] *These from the Land of Sinim*, pp. 87-8.

missionaries sent out to teach that 'the love of money is the root of all evil,' seemed in many cases to have caught the infection."[1] And Mr Nichols tells us of "a fine old Mohammedan tea-merchant in Sian," who remarked to him:—"'For my part, I should rather like to see the Christians overthrow the idols, and convert China to the worship of the "One God,"' but he added, 'The only trouble is, that if Sian were a Christian city, it would be as bad as Shanghai.'"[2]

In 1904, we hear from Mr Brown that "when, after his return from a long journey in Asia, Rev. Dr George Pentecost was asked—'What are the darkest spots in the missionary outlook?' he replied—'In lands of spiritual darkness it is difficult to speak of "darkest spots." I should say, however, that if there is a darkness more dark than other darkness, it is that which is cast on heathen darkness by the ungodliness of the American and European Communities that have invaded the East for the sake of trade and empire. The corruption of Western godliness is the worst evil in the East. Of course there are many noble exceptions among Western commercial men and their families; but, as a rule, the European and American resident in the East is a constant contradiction to all and everything which the missionaries stand for.'"[3]

In 1905, Rev. E. J. Hardy, Chaplain to the Forces, informs us that "the Chinese say that, while we profess Christianity, its spirit influences our actions far less than do economical considerations, that Christianity is even less to us than is Confucianism to them, and that it is like our impudence to send missionaries to China."[4]

The American Minister to China makes a new suggestion when, in 1906, we find him remarking:—"From the inability of the foreigner to talk with the

[1] *The Land of the Blue Gown*, 1902, Mrs Archibald Little, pp. 6-7.
[2] *Through Hidden Shensi*, 1902, Francis H. Nichols, p. 181.
[3] *New Forces in Old China*, 1904, Arthur Judson Brown, pp. 124-5.
[4] *John Chinaman at Home*, 1905, Rev. E. J. Hardy, M.A., p. 326.

people, and his complete dependence on 'boys' to interpret for him, it is reasonable to say that he learns very little about the real character of the Chinese. Nevertheless, he usually goes to China weighted down with reforms, but none of these touch the conduct of the foreigners towards the Chinese." [1]

At the Conference of Protestant missionaries in 1907, two resolutions were passed by the Medical missionaries; one urging abolition of the use of opium, the other urging "restriction of the sale of alcoholic beverages, the consumption of which is so fast increasing among the Chinese." [2] In the consideration of "Woman's Work," the Conference placed on record the following:—"The Conference notes with pain that the temptations threatening the virtue of young women have in many ways increased through the new conditions in China, especially at the open ports, that vice is encouraged by the introduction of immoral pictures, largely in connection with the sale of cigarettes; further that cigarette smoking by the young is a growing evil; also that the traffic in slaves between Shanghai and the interior has assumed large proportions; it is therefore resolved that a representative Committee be appointed to take all possible steps to wage war against vice, inculcate purity, and to save the fallen." [3]

It is satisfactory to learn, as we do, on the authority of Mr M'Kenzie, in 1907, that "the gulf between the general residents and the missionaries is now being narrowed and bridged over. Leading European officials, merchants, and publicists have been won by the good work they have seen accomplished." [4]

And it is possible that the future may have still better things in store, since the Anglican Church in

[1] *China and Her People*, 1906, Hon. Charles Denby, LL.D., vol. i., p. 162.

[2] *The China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907 (*North China Daily News* Office), p. 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[4] *The Unveiled East*, 1907, F. A. M'Kenzie, pp. 288-9.

China is about to take the foreign resident in hand. Resolution VIII. of the Anglican Conference at Shanghai, held in April 1907, reads thus:—"That in view of the ever-increasing importance of the work of the Anglican Communion amongst foreigners resident in Hong-Kong and China—both in regard to the necessary influence of such residents upon the Church's Missions to the Chinese, and with a view to the spiritual welfare of the residents themselves—this Conference hereby requests that on the occasion of the next Conference which will consider especially the organisation of the Church's work among the Chinese, the Bishops will also meet with the chaplains and lay-representatives of the foreign congregations, for the consideration of the Church's work amongst foreign residents in China."[1]

[1] *The China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, p. 48.

CHAPTER IV

THE OPEN DOOR (CHRISTIAN VERSION)

It may be noted here, that the question as to whether an influx of Chinese citizens into any other country is or is not desirable forms no part of the present consideration. The issue here dealt with is, in the words of a Chinese writer, that "while the white men were shutting the doors of their different colonies or settlements against the Chinese, they were claiming unheard-of rights in the native land of the very people to whom they had denied rights and privileges, already secured to them by treaty between the sovereign representatives of the white and the yellow races";[1] and, consequently, to ask:—Is such conduct on the part of the Christian nations calculated to advance that conversion of China which they profess to have at heart, and which they send forth their missionaries to effect?

Occidentals appear only too ready to credit the Chinese with Oriental exclusiveness, pride, and other amiable qualities, because they decline to receive the foreigner with open arms and clasp him to their bosoms. The Celestial, however, may well reply, that he is only putting into practice the lessons he has received. For, so comprehensive has been China's education at the hands of the Christian nations, that the correct—if not the Scriptural—method of receiving the "stranger within thy gates" has found a place therein.

China's instruction in this matter commenced some three centuries ago — as usual, by object-lessons.

[1] *The Chinese Crisis from Within*, 1901, Wen Ching, p. 288.

Captain Brinkley informs us that, when Spain conquered the Philippines in 1543, "considerable settlements of Chinese traders were found. . . . The Spaniards in Manila receiving large supplies of silver from Mexico, and paying it out for Chinese imports, against which they had virtually no exports to exchange, an idea gradually gained currency in China that Manila possessed great stores of the precious metals. Thus the people of the Middle Kingdom began to grow inquisitive, and the Spaniards suspicious. It has been shown that the outcome of Chinese suspicion was simply to send away the suspected persons. Spanish suspicion took another form. It culminated (1603) in an indiscriminate massacre which lasted several days, all the Chinese in the islands, to the number of many thousands, being either put to the sword or sent to the galleys." The number of Chinese visitors was limited, and a poll-tax, amounting to £2 each, was imposed; they being subjected "otherwise to very harsh treatment." In 1662, occurred another massacre of Chinese settlers, in order to prevent them combining with the Chinese pirates.[1]

The manner in which Holland introduced herself to China has already been related. In the subsequent negotiations the Dutch ambassadors and their suites "observed strictly all the forms prescribed by Chinese etiquette, prostrating themselves and knocking their heads upon the ground, not only in the presence of the Emperor, but also before his empty throne and on all officially indicated occasions. . . . From the Chinese point of view, however, the record cannot have commanded much respect. An intercourse commenced in rapine and aggression towards a nation which had never provoked them, was continued by fruitless obsequiousness, and included an act comically inconsistent with the claims they advanced in their own behalf, namely, an interdict (1839) against the

[1] *China, etc.*, 1904, Captain F. Brinkley, vol. x., pp. 177-8-9.

admission of Chinese settlers to any of the Dutch Indian Colonies, since the skill of the immigrants threatened to engross the labour market."[1]

"The first considerable emigration of Chinese to America occurred," says Mr Stewart Culin, "at the time of the discovery of gold in California in 1849."[2] Writing of a period nearly twenty years later (1868), and the "yellow peril" of that date, Mr Griffis tells us, "these were the days when we were begging the Chinese to come over and help us in developing our country. We had not yet begun to violate our own treaties, eat our own words, and kick out the guests we had once invited."[3]

Nor was this last mere rhetoric, since it is on record that "in January 1853, Hon. H. H. Haight, afterwards Governor of California, offered at a representative meeting of San Francisco citizens this resolution :—'Resolved that we regard with pleasure the presence of greater numbers of these people (Chinese) among us, as affording the best opportunity of doing them good, and through them of exerting our influence in their native land.' And this resolution was unanimously adopted."[4]

Consequently, Mr Will, of the *Baltimore Sun*, remarks :—"Before passing to the subject of the 'open-door,' let us consider an incident in our national career which tends to tie our hands, in a moral sense, in any effort to force Americans or American innovations on China. This is the Chinese exclusion law enacted by the United States Congress, and having the practical effect of shutting out from this country all Chinese immigrants. . . . If we assume the right to protect ourselves from the influx of another race, surely the Chinese can claim the same right."[5]

[1] Brinkley, vol. x., pp. 182-3.
[2] *China in America*, 1887, Stewart Culin, p. 7.
[3] *America in the East*, 1899, William Elliott Griffis, p. 87.
[4] *New Forces in Old China*, 1904, Arthur Judson Brown, p. 157.
[5] *The World-Crisis in China*, 1900, Allen S. Will, p. 48.

In 1888-9, we learn from Sir Robert Douglas, "a counter-current was running against the Chinese in the United States and the Australian Colonies. For some years large numbers of emigrants from China, attracted by the gold-diggings in California, had passed into that state. They were patient and industrious workers, and excited no ill-will so long as they confined their attention to gold-digging; but when they began to settle in the towns, and to compete with the white working men, a strong opposition to their presence was aroused. As labourers and mechanics they were in all respects the equals of the white man, while their economical habits enabled them to work for lower wages than their rivals would accept. This condition of things aroused an active campaign against them; and political candidates found that there was no more popular policy than that which was directed towards the exclusion of the Chinese from the States. So strong was the movement, that the legislature passed a Bill forbidding the landing of Chinese on the shores of the States. The anomalous result followed that, while the American Government was urging the *Tsungli Yamên* [Chinese Foreign Board] to grant greater privileges to American citizens in China, the American legislature was doing that which had been universally condemned when China had attempted to impose similar disabilities on immigrants from the great Republic."[1]

Two industries the Chinese seem to have made particularly their own, laundry-work and domestic service. "The occupation of laundrymen, both as employer and employee," says Mr Culin, "is a profitable one, but their incessant toil, with their aptitude for combination and freedom from many of the expenses which the family relation entails upon all other classes may be regarded as the secrets of their success."[2] Wives and children are never brought with them.[3]

[1] *Europe and the Far East*, 1904, Sir Robert K. Douglas, p. 275.
[2] *China in America*, p. 10.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

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In respect of domestic service, Colonel Hollister, among others, testified before a "Congressional Commission" that "it is Chinese or nothing." This appears to have been due to the reluctance of white women to go "into the country"—seemingly owing to the scarcity of "sweethearts" and other necessaries of life. The gallant Colonel must have been a man of iron principles, for having said:—"I have not any [Chinese] in my house, never had one, and would not have one myself, as a servant," he recounted his experiences at the hands of white servants: "Since 4th July last," the evidence was given in November, "I have had about twenty girls in my house. I pay $35 a month to the cook, and $25 to the girl upstairs. I have had not less than twenty-four, if not more, since that time. Out of these, four or five had to be carried away. I had even to send for the police to get them out."[1]

The violence of the anti-Chinese feeling in some quarters may be gauged by the evidence of Mr John F. Swift, of San Francisco, before the same Commission. Mr Seward remarks that, it "was the language of extravagance and declamation . . . but his talk indicates what he feels." To this effect Mr Swift:—"This prejudice has grown. It is ten times as strong as it was ten years ago. In 1852 the Chinamen were allowed to turn out and celebrate the Fourth of July, and it was considered a happy thing. In 1862 they would have been mobbed. In 1872 they would have been burned at the stake."[2]

The condition of those Chinese who worked at the mines seems to have left something to be desired. Concerning the collection of the "Miners' Tax," we learn from Mr Gibson, in 1877, that "there is a species of semi-legalised robbery perpetrated upon the Chinese. Many of the collectors are gentlemen in every sense of the word; but there are others who take advantage of

[1] *Chinese Immigration*, 1881, George F. Seward, pp. 132-3.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 250-1.

their position to extort the last dollar from the poverty-stricken Chinese. They date licenses back, exact pay in some cases for extra trouble in hunting up the terrified and flying Chinamen, and by various devices fatten themselves upon the spoils thus obtained. The complaints of the injured and oppressed find no open ear; for, is it not declared by the Supreme Court, the highest tribunal in the land, that their oaths are not to be regarded. . . . There were also bogus collectors, a set of vagabonds, who made their living by putting off spurious receipts of mining taxes, coal and road taxes. Mr Speer heard one of these vagabonds address another of his clan thus: 'I had no money to keep Christmas with, but went among the Chinamen, and sold them, to the amount of $9, counterfeit receipts.'"[1]

"If we except the Jews in former times," says Dr Condit, "no people have been more despised and persecuted than the Chinamen in this Christian land. They have been stoned, spit upon, beaten, mobbed, their property destroyed, and they themselves unjustly imprisoned and murdered. All this in free America, under our flag, and in the face of sacred treaty rights."[2]

The delicate attentions bestowed upon the Chinese seem to have been shared by those who laboured for their spiritual welfare. Thus, we find that, in 1868, Rev. Otis Gibson was appointed by a Mission Board in California, as a home missionary to the Chinese, and, "for fifteen years he laboured for the uplifting of the Chinese on the Pacific coast, amid such difficulties as are not easy to conceive in a Christian land. Persecution, libels, threats to his life, dangers such as he never knew in China, crowded upon and around him here. The windows of his home were broken, and his character libelled, one newspaper giving itself especially to this work. He was burned in effigy in the presence of the Mayor of San Francisco, that official looking smilingly on. When

[1] *The Chinese in America*, 1877, Rev. O. Gibson, A.M., pp. 236-7.

[2] *The Chinaman as we see him*, 1901, Rev. Ira M. Condit, D.D., p. 83.

at one time, as a free American citizen, he entered the Californian Hall of Legislature, a hoodlum member moved that he be expelled from the House, because 'he was the most obnoxious man to the anti-Chinese party on the Pacific coast.' At one time, for weeks, when he went from his home, his wife felt no assurance that he would return alive, so frequent were the threats against his life."[1]

In China itself we learn :—"Matters were beginning to settle down quietly after the riots on the Yangtze, when the Chinese received a just cause of offence at the hands of the United States of America. Already every possible impediment had been put in the way of intending Chinese immigrants into the States ; and in 1892 the popular prejudice against natives of China invading the land of the Stars and Stripes found fresh and drastic expression in an Act known as the Geary Exclusion Act. By this instrument the admittance into the United States of Chinese and persons of Chinese descent was strictly prohibited. When the provisions of this Act were made known to the Ministers of the *Tsungli Yamên*, they protested against them, as forming a breach in the comity of nations, and urged, with reason, that the Americans had no right to force China to receive their fellow-citizens, while they refused to allow a native of China to set foot on the soil of America. The feeling was so strong in China, and even in the States, against the enforcement of the Act, that it was allowed to remain a dead letter. . . . The very passing of it, however, made a deep impression on the Chinese hierarchy, who recognised to the full that an attempt had been made to impose an injustice on their countrymen."[2]

The effects of an amended Act of the following session are thus described by Mr Beck :—"Merchants and students are allowed to travel between this country and their native China, or other countries, upon the

[1] *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, April 1889, p. 173.
[2] *Europe and the Far East*, 1904, Sir Robert K. Douglas, pp. 299-300.

mere *prima facie* proof of their standing as such. With the labourer, however, it is different: in the first place, under its provisions, if he leaves the country he is not allowed to return at all, unless he can prove to the satisfaction of the Collector of Customs of the city wherein he resides, that he leaves behind him a wife or children, or both, $1000 actual debt, or that there is some blood relative dependent on him. Even after proving either one or all three of these conditions, he must give up his registration certificate at the point of departure from the United States' boundaries, taking therefor a receipt. His visit to his native land is really no more than a leave of absence for a time limit of one year from date of departure. It is only upon producing, to the satisfaction of the United States' representative at the city of his leave taking, the very best reasons for his remaining away longer than the original period granted, that the time will be extended, and then only upon his report being viséd by the Chinese Consul, may his vacation be extended for another year. Should he fail to return to his original point of departure within the United States, and there deliver up the receipt for his registration papers, he will not be allowed to re-enter the land of the free. Should he be but one day late beyond the second year limit, his certificate is confiscated, and admission refused."[1]

"A Chinese merchant and his wife, of unquestioned standing in San Francisco, made a trip to China, and while there, a child was born. On returning to their home in America, the sapient officials could interpose no objection to the admission of the parents, but peremptorily refused to admit the three-months-old baby, for never having been in this country, it had no right to enter it." Appeal was made to the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington, and the action of the local officials was officially sustained by him, as in accordance with the law; but Hon. Daniel Manning, "in approving

[1] *New York's Chinatown*, 1898, Louis J. Beck, pp. 202-3.

their action, had the courageous good sense to write :— 'Burn all this correspondence, let the poor little baby go ashore, and don't make a fool of yourself.'"[1]

Nor does the lot of the merchant or student from China, to whom, eventually, admission was granted, seem to have been all they could have wished. The Chinese Consul-General describes their incarceration, while the necessary certificates are being passed backwards and forwards, in "a dirty dungeon in San Francisco called the Detention Loft." In one prison "are held for long periods, Chinese gentlemen worth hundreds of thousands of dollars, men of vast interests, tea-merchants, scholars, owners of extensive establishments of Chinaware, bankers, owners of ships. They are deprived of their liberty, and subjected to indignities of exquisite refinement, while their pecuniary loss is beyond computation. . . . By recent rulings of the Treasury Department, all Chinese bankers, lawyers, teachers, and missionaries, are debarred from the United States, as not being entitled to enter this country, a ruling which was never made or thought of before, and which entails additional hardship on the Chinese."[2]

"The law thus discriminates against class and race," says Dr Condit. "It treats Chinese as no other nation under the sun is treated. These discriminating laws are a great and unnecessary wrong against a defenceless people, and their harsh execution makes matters still worse. The poor Chinaman, who has no friend, must abide by the requirements of an unjust law. He feels the great injustice that is done him by our Government, and is rightly indignant at the manner in which he is treated by a so-called Christian people. Yet we wonder that he is so slow in conforming to our ways,

[1] *New Forces in Old China*, 1904, Arthur Judson Brown, p. 160.

[2] "The Attitude of the United States towards the Chinese" (*The Forum*, June 1900, p. 396), Ho Yow, Chinese Consul-General to The United States.

and accepting the Christianity which we seek to impose upon him."[1]

The year 1906 witnessed a terrible earthquake at San Francisco, followed by an equally disastrous fire. "As soon as it was safe to do so," wrote the special correspondent of the *Times*, "an army of looters descended on Chinatown, and with hardly a pretence of interference on the part of the troops and police, proceeded to gather up everything of value that could be found, digging in the ruins and carrying away thousands of Oriental art objects that had escaped destruction. These looters included wealthy citizens and their wives and children, and even members of the California Militia on leave. Looting was attempted by some persons in other parts of the city, but was promptly suppressed by the military; but until a couple of days ago, nothing was done to protect the property of the helpless Chinese. It is suspected that representations were made to the authorities in Washington by the Chinese Legation. At any rate, adequate protection is now afforded by Federal troops, and any further attempt at looting will be prevented. The Secretary of the Chinese Legation is here, and behind the mask of Oriental passivity, his indignation at the treatment of his fellow-countrymen is manifest.

It is not alone in the loss of their property that the Chinese have suffered. While relief has been freely distributed to everyone else, they have been left largely to shift for themselves, and many of them must have suffered terribly. The Chinese refugees at Fort Mason are being properly cared for by the United States army authorities, but those who fled to Oakland and other points have been less fortunate. . . .

In San Francisco there is a decided movement in favour of removing Chinatown from the centre of the city and segregating the Chinese at Hunter's Point, on the east shore of the peninsula. It is very doubtful if

[1] *The Chinaman as we see him*, 1901, Rev. Ira M. Condit, D.D., p. 87.

this can be legally done, and it is certain that, if by some legal pretext the Chinese can be deprived of the use of their own property, moral injustice will be wrought. . . .

Dr Timmon, who is chairman of the committee which is considering the question of the removal of the Chinese, startled the relief committee by declaring that the Chinese had been so irritated by the treatment to which they had been subjected since the fire, that any attempt to remove Chinatown would be the last straw, and would be followed by a transfer of the trade to some other city."[1]

Perhaps the gentleman quoted by Mr Robertson-Scott, "one of the most trustworthy writers on the Middle Kingdom, himself an American missionary," who, referring to Dr Morrison's statement that every part of China had been explored, declared that "it is less dangerous for a foreigner to cross China, than for a Chinese to cross the United States,"[2] was not far wide of the mark.

To conclude with America. On 21st February 1907, we find that "President Roosevelt has signed the Immigration Bill excluding Asiatic labourers from the United States."[3]

"A similar movement in Canada," says Sir Robert Douglas, "had resulted in the same prohibition. In each case the habits and morals of the Chinese were put forward as the exciting causes of their exclusion. A more practical motive was to be traced, however, in the movement; and if the Chinese settlers had not been so frugal and industrious, it is probable that they would have been allowed to domicile themselves without question."[4]

The question of habits and morals seems capable

[1] *The Times*, 3rd May 1906.
[2] *The People of China*, 1900, J. W. Robertson-Scott, p. 176.
[3] *The Times*, 21st February 1907.
[4] *Europe and the Far East*, 1904, Sir Robert K. Douglas, p. 275.

of being quite easily shelved if it threaten to become inconvenient. Hence the announcement from Victoria (British Columbia), under date 8th August 1906:—"The $500 (£100) head-tax which is operative here on Chinese immigrants, is causing a scarcity of unskilled labour. The salmon-canners are petitioning for a reduced head-tax in order to permit Chinese to enter the province."[1]

Possibly the salmon-canners got over their difficulties—with or without help from the Chinese does not appear. In any case, we learn from Ottawa:—"The Legislature of British Columbia concluded its labours yesterday [25th April 1907]. The Lieut.-Governor, Mr Dunsmuir, took the unusual step of reserving the Royal Assent to one Bill respecting Immigration. The object of the Bill was to keep out Asiatics, especially Hindus and Japanese. It directly violates the provisions of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty to which Canada became a party last year. Great satisfaction is expressed here at Mr Dunsmuir's action in refusing assent to a measure calculated to irritate the Japanese as well as our fellow-subjects in India."[2] The Chinese, who are also Asiatics, may possibly be of the same mind, when they hear Europeans loudly insisting on the "Policy of the Open Door"—in China.

Later in the same year we learn:—"The growth of the anti-Asiatic feeling on the Pacific coast found expression in Vancouver last evening in a most unfortunate demonstration against Japanese and Chinese. At the conclusion of the meeting of the anti-Japanese and Korean League, fifty or sixty rowdies marched, about nine o'clock, to the section of the city where are situated a number of shops kept by Japanese and Chinese, and broke the windows by throwing stones at them. Later the attack was resumed. The mob, by this time, had increased to five hundred; and more shop-fronts were destroyed, and one Japanese was

[1] *The Times*, 10th August 1906. [2] *Ibid.*, 27th April 1907.

wounded. The city police were soon on the spot, and succeeded in dispersing the mob after a considerable amount of property had been destroyed."[1]

Also :—"Lest people at home should for one moment imagine that the public opinion of this city (Vancouver) is in favour of the regrettable scenes that occurred here last week, the following lines are written. The actual facts of the case were as follows :—A meeting of a political association, closely identified with the exclusion of Asiatics was held on that particular Saturday evening, and it was by some of the speakers at that meeting that much inflammatory, and, at the same time, disgraceful, advice was tendered to the Saturday-night crowd, by speakers who ought to have known better. The temper of the crowd had, up to this time, been excellent, and it was not until a prominent local minister had actually informed his hearers that his very pulpit was in danger of being handed over to the Asiatics, that the mob surged down on the Chinese quarter. . . . As the mob, deriving their excitement from the same source as does any such mob on 'wages night' in the Old Country, poured into the Chinese quarter, they began to break every window they came across. Such methods recommended themselves to the large number of small boys who had by this time helped to swell the total of the rioters. The Chinese acted in the circumstances with the greatest forbearance, kept themselves carefully indoors, and refrained from the slightest attempt at retaliation. The police, owing to the paucity of their numbers, were powerless, so the mob wreaked their own sweet will on all the Chinese property they came across."[2]

"Influenced by the examples thus set them," continues Sir Robert Douglas, "the working classes in Australia and New Zealand raised the standard of war against Chinese immigrants. At first a poll-tax of £10 per

[1] *The Times*, 9th September 1907. [2] *Ibid.*, 18th October 1907.

head was imposed on all Celestials as they stepped on the shores of Australasia. Being further from the Chinese coast than is the American continent, Australia had less reason to complain of the influx of these visitors: not more than an average of six hundred a year presented themselves for landing between the years of 1861 and 1886. But even these small numbers offended the white people; and it was proposed that an order should be issued peremptorily forbidding the importation of these industrious Asiatics. Before, however, this could be done, the matter had been automatically settled by the fact that the immigration practically ceased."[1]

We learn from Sir Charles Dilke that "the dislike of the Australians for the Chinese is so strong and so general, that it is like the dislike of terriers for rats. . . . Nothing will so rapidly bring together an Australian crowd as the rumour that Chinamen or rabbits are likely to be landed from a ship, and the one class of intruder is about as popular as the other."[2] Further: "An Australian intercolonial conference has declared the Chinese 'an alien race, incapable of assimilation in the body politic, strangers to our civilisation, out of sympathy with our aspirations, and unfitted for our free institutions.'"[3] "And Sir Henry Parkes, speaking on the Chinese Restriction Bill, 1888, in the New South Wales Legislative Assembly, put the case for Australia as strongly as anyone could: 'In this crisis,' said he, 'of the Chinese question, we have acted calmly with a desire to see clearly before us; but at the same time we have acted with decision, and we do not mean to turn back. Neither for H.M. ships of war, nor for H.M. Representative on the spot, nor for the Secretary of State for the Colonies do we intend to turn aside from

[1] *Europe and the Far East*, pp. 275-6.

[2] *Problems of Greater Britain*, 1890, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., p. 213.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 531.

our purpose, which is to terminate the landing of Chinese on these shores for ever, except under restrictions imposed by the Bill, which will amount, and which are intended to amount, to practical prohibition.'"[1]

Hence, "the few Chinamen in Australia subsist on sufferance. . . . Yet many an hotel in the Colonies has been burned to the ground, for no other reason than that the owner had employed a Chinese cook. The disabilities of the Jews in mediæval Europe sink into nothingness, when compared with the disabilities of the Chinese in modern Australia."[2]

"The Government of New Zealand," we further learn from Sir Charles Dilke, "has exceeded all others in the high-handed character of its action against the Chinese. It reprinted without change, and put in force in 1888, a proclamation by Sir Arthur Gordon dated 1881, declaring all places where there is a Chinese population, infected with small-pox, and imposing quarantine upon all persons coming from them, or having received any person coming from them."[3]

In 1898, there appear to have been 3500 Chinese in New Zealand. "At one time," according to Mr Reeves, "they were twice as numerous. Then a poll-tax of £10 was levied on all new-comers. Still a few score came in every year, paying the tax or having it paid for them, and about as many went home to China, usually with £200, or more, about them. In 1895, the tax was raised to £50, and this seems likely to bring the end quickly. Despised, disliked, dwindling, the Chinese are bound soon to disappear from the Colony."[4]

We may now glance at our own country. Under the significant title of "Prejudice and Evidence," the *Morning Post* informs its readers that "the recent

[1] *The Asiatic Danger in the Colonies*, 1907, L. E. Neame, p. 79.

[2] *The Chinaman Abroad* (*Nineteenth Century*, October 1894), Edmund Mitchell, p. 620.

[3] *Problems of Greater Britain*, p. 531.

[4] *The Long White Cloud*, 1898, William Pember Reeves, pp. 398-9.

arrival of thirty-two Chinamen in Liverpool has been much resented by residents of the city, and there have been rumours of a 'terrible condition of affairs' in the Chinese quarter of the city. It became necessary, in view of these reports, to ascertain the facts, and a special meeting of the City Council was held yesterday to discuss the question. The Council having devoted an hour and a half to the consideration of the matter, resolved by forty votes against six, to appoint a commission of inquiry comprised of nine councillors, two clergymen, two doctors, and two local newspaper editors, to investigate and report on the conditions of the Chinese settlement in the city, and to invite evidence on the moral and economic effect of the increased importation of Chinese into Liverpool. It was also agreed to call the attention of the Government to the serious increase of Chinese in Liverpool, and to urge the Home Secretary to enforce the Aliens Act rigidly in the interest of the moral welfare of the people, and in that of the unemployed. In the course of the sitting the Head Constable reported that most of the resident Chinese were doing fairly well. Poor Chinamen were helped by their own countrymen. Opium smoking was prevalent, but it was not illegal, and no crimes had occurred, so far as was known, owing to the use of the drug. A good deal of gambling went on, and the police treated the Chinese exactly as they treated the British, prosecuting whenever evidence justified it. Of all the foreign element in Liverpool, the Chinese gave the police the least trouble, and the authorities had no complaints of the decoying of young girls. They were fully alive to their duty, and would take prompt action if proof were discovered of the alleged rampant crime and debauchery in the Chinese quarter."[1]

Transferring our investigation to China, we learn that "the publication in the native papers of the anti-slavery South African election charges has had a

[1] *The Morning Post*, 13th December 1906.

deplorable effect, while the publication of English cartoons, showing Chinese driven with whips in chains to labour, Englishmen shooting runaway Chinese in sport, and Englishmen torturing Chinese at the mines, can only make Englishmen living in China wonder why retaliation is so infrequent."[1]

Also:—"The first number of the first illustrated paper ever published in Peking has just been issued, called *Peiching Huapao.* It is written in a popular style, and is obtaining a large circulation. A feature of the paper is the reproduction in an exaggerated form of the Chinese labour cartoons distributed at the last general election. Two published in this number represent a Chinese miner in rags and shoeless, his face distorted with pain, tightly handcuffed across a beam. The letterpress explains that these cartoons illustrate the treatment to which miners are subjected in South Africa, and are reproduced from an English book. . . . Rarely have anti-foreign publications from the Chinese themselves been more calculated to inflame resentment against foreigners than these infamous pictures copied from English election literature, whose reproduction we can neither prevent nor protest against."[2]

And now, a European authority will sum up the case for us. "The whole question of Oriental Immigration into the white man's country is an exceedingly difficult thing to handle. That the white man should enter the territory of an Asiatic nation is regarded as a perfectly right and proper thing. That he should force himself and his religion, his commerce, and even, in too many cases, his vices, upon nations that did not want to have anything to do with him; and sought only to live their own lives in peace, is regarded as not only right, but meritorious. That he should force the Asiatics to give him concessions of railways, steamships, mines, and anything else that he may covet, is thought entirely just

[1] *The Times*, 24th April 1906.
[2] *Ibid.*, 2nd June 1906.

and equitable. But, when a few hundreds or thousands of these Asiatics go to the white man's country, not as conquerors, or monopolists, or *concessionnaires*, but simply as humble labourers, offering labour for wages which satisfy their frugal requirements, there is wild excitement, political agitation, and mob violence. But if these Oriental races enter the white man's country, who has the white man to blame but himself? He laboured very hard to stir up all those quiescent races, who did not want him, and did their best to remain in their ancient ways. He was warned by his own wise teachers, that some day he would succeed, and that he would have cause to be sorry. His own political economy taught him that people who work sixteen hours a day, who do not drink, who live with a frugality of which he has no conception, must prove terribly formidable competitors with nations who limit their work and their output, and live expensively. He would not listen so long as he could wring concessions from the Asiatics, and compel them to trade at the point of the bayonet. He is now going to find out that his teachers were wise, and his political economy sound; but he is taking in a very mutinous and unreasonable spirit, the A B C of what is going to be a long course of lessons."[1]

[1] *The Times*, 28th October 1907.

CHAPTER V

"EXPERIENTIA DOCET"

"THAT China is learning, and learning widely, if not always wisely, cannot be questioned. She must learn and learn vastly more than has ever hitherto entered into her curriculum, before she is qualified up to the measure of her aspirations, or can meet the requirements of the international comity."[1]

Thus spoke a Protestant missionary in 1890, and as the time for China's advanced course of studies—possibly the "New Learning," of the progress and effects of which there is as yet no sufficient experience—is upon us, we may inquire what she has already learned.

"The essential character of Western civilisation," wrote the Military Attaché of China in Paris, "is to be encroaching. There is no necessity to demonstrate that. In former times the hordes of barbarians were likewise encroaching, not with the object of bringing the benefits of a new spirit, but for the purpose of pillaging and ruining prosperous countries. The civilised people of the West follow the same method with the pretension of establishing universal happiness. The initial point of their idea of progress is violence. . . . War and pauperism are the two scourges of humanity, and when China is convinced that the spirit of innovation, of which the Western world is so vain, with all those ingenious inventions whose wonders we applaud so much, possess the secret of making nations

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 19.

peaceable and increasing their happiness — ah, then China will join enthusiastically in the universal concert. . . . But has that conviction been arrived at? What are the commercial importations into those ports a celebrated treaty has made international? Firearms. We hoped for the machinery of peace, they bring us the machinery of war, and as a specimen of modern civilising institutions we inaugurate standing armies. And they complain we are mistrustful! But firearms are not the only articles of prime necessity offered to us. To tell the truth they are nearly the only ones whose utility has been proved to us: the demonstration has been perfect. . . . Ask a Chinese what he calls the English: he will tell you they are the opium merchants. In the same way he will tell you the French are missionaries. It is under these two aspects he knows them, and it will easily be understood that he retains a lively remembrance of these foreigners, since the former ruin his health at the expense of his purse, and the latter upset his ideas. . . . All the foreigners who seek China have but one end in view—speculation; and what is extremely curious, all these speculators despise us because we exhibit distrust. . . . 'Our enemy,' says the universal fabulist, 'is our master'; but it is likewise the man who makes a snatch at our purse under pretext of civilisation. Distrust? why, we can never show enough."[1]

In 1865, or thereabouts, we have an instance of one of those straws which show how the wind blows. "M. de Mas, the Spanish Minister, being about to leave Peking," went to pay a farewell visit to Hêng-chi, of the Foreign Board, who had been especially friendly. "After the two old gentlemen had exchanged banalities to their hearts' content, the Spaniard, knowing that Hêng-chi had a little son, the child of his old age, of whom he was inordinately proud, thought it would be a

[1] *The Chinese, painted by themselves*, 1884, Col. Tcheng Ki-Tong (trans. from the French by James Millington), pp. 81-6.

very pretty compliment if he asked to see the little boy, who was accordingly produced, sucking his thumb after the manner of his years. Him his father ordered to pay his respects to M. de Mas—that is to say, shake his united fists at him in token of salutation, instead of which the child after long silence and much urging, taking his thumb deliberately out of his mouth, roared out '*kwei-tzŭ*' (devils), at the top of his voice, and fled. Imagine the consternation of the two old twaddles! Hêng-chi was horrified, for, after all his protestations of friendship for us, which by-the-by took nobody in, it bored him not a little that we should find out that his child was brought up in the privacy of the harem to look upon us as devils."[1]

In 1868, the Peking Government asked advice from its more powerful officers on the foreign question. The Memorial of one of them in reply—Tseng Kwo-Fan, Viceroy of Nanking—fell into the hands of foreigners. "Tseng Kwo-Fan, in this document, assures the advisers of the Emperor that the Chinese had suffered sorely from the arrival of foreigners, which, 'though it make the unskilful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve.' Foreign trade, he says, is permitted only because it cannot be kept out, and our friendship is to be retained only because it is less objectionable than our enmity."[2]

About the same time, there appears to have been printed in Hunan, and extensively circulated elsewhere, "An appeal to the Hunan Province," which reads thus:—"Strangers are invading all around; people's hearts are provoked at it. Just speak of those rebellious and barbarous Englishmen: their savage country is the sea-shore, the head of their government is a woman, and their original race is half man half brute. They are those whom our books call *naked worms* and *men-fish*.

[1] *The Attaché at Peking*, 1900, A. B. Freeman-Mitford, C.B., pp. 168-9.

[2] *The Tientsin Massacre*, 1870, George Thin, M.D., p. 44.

Wherefore, we all, *literati*, husbandmen, tradesmen, and so forth, let us draw the sword against the common enemy; whoever does not come with us is a traitor, shamefully sold to foreigners."[1]

Mr Thomson, who was in China about 1871, remarks that "literary graduates, when selected for the Imperial Service, are at once cut adrift from the people, and form a caste by themselves, whose sole interest lies in maintaining the ancient policy of the Government, to the exclusion of such measures of progress and reform as would bring the country abreast of the times, and foster the permanent interest of the community from which they sprang."[2]

Concerning these same *literati*, after observing that they are to be pitied rather than censured, Mr Holcombe continues:—"Patriotic or selfish, wise or absurd in their opposition to modern ways and ideas, the entire history of the foreign relations with the Chinese Empire exhibits the *literati* as an intensely hostile and dangerous force. Every absurd story, calculated to arouse popular fear and hatred against foreigners, has either originated with, or been countenanced by, them. The Tientsin massacre of 1870 was emphatically their work. And the ultimate responsibility for every popular uprising, peaceful or violent, against foreigners, or the modern ways of life which they represent, must be laid upon the shoulders of the *literati*. They utterly thwarted the efforts of the Emperor in 1886 to broaden the range of study and the civil service examination by the addition of mathematical subjects. For more than thirty years they have practically boycotted the University of Peking, where languages, mathematics, and modern science have been taught in conjunction with the Confucian course. And the *literati*, rather than the Empress-

[1] *The Tientsin Massacre*, p. 73.

[2] *Through China with a Camera*, 1898, John Thomson, F.R.G.S., p. 3.

Dowager, must be held accountable for the recent fiasco in the plans of the Emperor for reform. Those plans, crude, ill-advised, and far too radical for the intense conservatism of the Chinese, might still have met with some poor measure of success, and have proved the stepping-stones to better things. But the bitter hostility of the *literati* and the official class encouraged the ambition of the Empress-Dowager. Utter failure, and the practical dethronement of Kuang-Hsu, were the result."[1]

"Yet to say that the *literati* are hostile to foreigners," remarks Captain Brinkley, "is only another way of saying that the educated class is hostile. . . . But if educated Chinese are anti-foreign, is that to be attributed to innate disposition or to practical experience? Would the educated classes of any nation be pro-foreign under similar circumstances?"[2]

The same authority also tells us that "on almost every occasion of charitable effort, missionaries—Protestant and Roman Catholic alike—were the prime movers and ultimate distributors. Notably was that the case in the great famine of 1878. It may be supposed that, coming with such a passport, they would have been hospitably and joyfully received. On the contrary, suspicion, distrust, and even open hostility, dogged their footsteps at the outset. For a moment it seemed that nothing would be possible, except to scatter broadcast the gifts of which they were the bearers, and fly before this antipathy. They persevered, however, and had the satisfaction of completely overcoming all prejudices in the end. But the fact, that prejudice had existed, retained its significance. In mediæval times, foreigners might have visited these provinces, and did visit them, without provoking any display of animosity. Now, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, they found ill will everywhere. There was not, on this occasion,

[1] *The Real Chinese Question*, 1901, Chester Holcombe, pp. 87-8.
[2] *China, etc.*, 1904, Captain F. Brinkley, vol. xi., pp. 220-1.

any question of religious propagandism. What provoked the sentiment of the provincial Chinese, men living far inland beyond the reach of exasperating influences, was the sight of the foreigner, *qua* foreigner. Only at the open ports, where commerce served as a lubricator, did contact fail to produce friction."[1]

In his report on the trade of Che-foo for 1877, Acting-Consul Jamieson notes that, in the preceding year, over £10,000 was subscribed by foreigners in China and Japan towards relieving the distress caused by the famine in Shantung and Shansi; and that "the total to be dispensed this year will be double, perhaps treble, what it was last year. . . . It is often asked," continues Mr Jamieson, "are the Chinese grateful? Do they appreciate our voluntary kindness? With regard to the better classes, the *literati* and the lower mandarins, I think it is very doubtful. They would rather see us and our charity out of the country altogether. But with regard to the recipients and their associates, the poor labouring class, there can be no doubt."[2]

In 1884, Mrs Williamson tells us that "a Chinaman is not at all times anxious to claim acquaintance with a foreigner. Not unfrequently it brings down upon him many petty annoyances from his neighbours. Even the mandarins sometimes oppress these known to be friendly to the outside barbarian."[3]

In 1885, a Chinese publication on "The Indulgent Treatment of Foreigners" was reprinted in Shanghai. From it we learn that:—"Anciently the natives of China made Treaties of Peace, and swore fidelity before Heaven. In modern times Europeans make treaties for purposes of trade according to the Law of Nations. But the English and French first led their armies to fight China, and then made treaties for the benefit of

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., pp. 172-3.

[2] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1878, p. 39.

[3] *Old Highways in China*, 1884, Isabelle Williamson (of Che-foo), p. 163.

their countries and the injury of China, without regard to justice and the Law of Nations."[1]

In 1891, appeared the "Hunan Tracts"—distributed gratuitously, mainly by pawnbrokers, who have always some official rank, and occupy semi-official position.[2] A perusal of these instructed the reader—among other matters—that :—"The Western kings have cast longing eyes towards the Chinese Empire; in order to gain possession of it; they have brought opium to drain China of its silver, and to destroy the lives of the people. But the mainstay of these Western kings is the missionaries, whom they palm off as doing good; who win the people's affections by small charities, while in their hearts they are full of fiendish wickedness. What they desire to obtain is traitors inside the camp, then they can from outside easily take the country."[3]

In that year, Dr Mutchmore, an American visitor to China, found his own countrymen held in small esteem :—"It is a mistake," he said, "that they [the Chinese] have any liking for Americans; they make no distinction in their favour, and would cut their throats if they dared."[4]

"To learn what the Chinaman really thinks about the foreigner," wrote Mr Norman in 1895, "you must go to Peking: no other city in China will serve you so well. And the discovery will be far from flattering to your national pride. . . . The 'foreign devil' is despised at sight—not merely hated, but regarded with sincere and profound contempt. 'If the *Tsungli Yamên* were abolished,' said a Peking diplomat to me, 'our lives

[1] *The Indulgent Treatment of Foreigners* (original date uncertain). Reprint 1885, Admiral P'eng Yü-lin, and Wang Chi-chun (trans. by "True Friend of China"), p. 1.

[2] *Missionaries in China*, 1891, A. Michie, Introduction, p. vii. Also, China (1), 1892, p. 73.

[3] *The Hunan Tracts of China*, 1892 (trans. by "Shocked Friend of China"), p. 3.

[4] *Moghul, Mongol, Mikado, and Missionary*, 1891, Samuel A. Mutchmore, D.D., vol. ii., p. 123.

would not be safe here for twenty-four hours. The people just refrain from actually molesting us, because they have learned that they will be very severely punished if they do.' – At home," continues Mr Norman, "we cherish the belief that we are welcome in China, that the Chinese are pleased to learn of our Western civilisation, that they are gladly and gradually assimilating our habits and views, and that the wall of prejudice is slowly breaking down. It would hardly be possible to be more grossly and painfully mistaken. The people to a man detest and despise us. (I am speaking, of course, of the real Chinese, not of the anglicised Chinese of Hong-Kong and elsewhere, who are but a drop in the ocean of Celestial humanity); and as for the rulers, it will not be far from the truth to say that the better they know us, the less they like us." . . . Even "the children run to the door to cry '*kueidzu!*' (devil) at you. They have other indescribable and worse ways of insulting you . . . there are few foreigners who have not had some unpleasant experience or other. No doubt it is sometimes the foreigner's own fault, but a life member of the Aborigines Protection Society would fail to get along smoothly at all times."[1]

Further:—"It is the testimony of most of the foreign residents, that their treatment by the Chinese grows worse each year, and that they are less safe in the streets. . . . And the Abbé Favier, the finest specimen of a priest I have ever met, a *beau sabreur* of the Church, who wears Chinese dress and his hair in a queue, who speaks Chinese fluently, who has even been decorated with a sapphire button by the Emperor, told me that he had just received the most remarkable honour and recognition of his whole life in China. He met the Governor of the city in his official chair, and the great man positively bowed to him, to the stupe-

[1] *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, 1895, Henry Norman, pp. 198-201.

faction of the lookers on. '*Il m'a salué, Monsieur—comme ça!*'"[1]

In an equally emphatic strain did Rev. William Ashmore, D.D., of the American Baptist Mission, address the readers of the *New York Examiner:* "Already the revulsion from the old, kindly feeling towards America has begun. Now they are learning to *hate* us. It is passing from mouth to mouth, from village to village, from province to province, from ruler to ruler, from prince to prince, from beggar to beggar, until we can contemplate the possibility of an epidemic of ill-will extending over a fourth part of the whole human race."[2]

"There is one feature about this place [Amoy] that is very striking, and at the same time exceedingly disagreeable, and that is the open contempt which the people on the streets show for the foreigner," says Rev. J. Macgowan. "In spite of the lessons that have been taught this city by English and French soldiers in former years, the hostile spirit of its population has never lost its bitterness even to the present day."[3]

During his visit to China, Lord Charles Beresford "called upon His Excellency Hu Yen Mei, Director of Railways and Governor of Peking, a most energetic and enlightened Mandarin. . . . He, however, was very anxious as to the immediate future of his country, and said he earnestly hoped the Chinese Government would shortly create an efficient army, as if disturbances occurred, European countries would be very likely to take large slices of territory as compensation for life or losses which China in her present position was powerless to prevent."[4]

"While at Tientsin I had interviews with H. E. Yu Lu, the Viceroy, and the Taotai Li . . . they declared

[1] *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, 1895, Henry Norman, pp. 279-80.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 281-2.
[3] *Pictures of Southern China*, 1897, Rev. J. Macgowan, p. 304.
[4] *The Break-up of China*, 1899, Lord Charles Beresford, p. 20.

they were very anxious as to the future of their country, that at present China was helpless, and that all European countries were taking advantage of this fact, and by bullying China were making her acquiesce in schemes to which she was naturally averse. They said that Russia insisted on China giving concessions which she was helpless to refuse, and that Great Britain immediately demanded why such concessions were given, and either made China pay heavily, or give an equivalent which China was equally helpless to refuse." [1]

General Yuan Shi-kai told his Lordship that "now that China was weak, all Europe, while professing the most sincere goodwill towards her, was seizing portions of the Empire under cover of naval and military demonstrations. . . . European countries showed by their actions that they wished to split up the Empire, and divide it among themselves." [2]

The Dowager-Empress of China was evidently of the same opinion a year later. In a Secret Edict of Her Majesty to the Viceroys, issued 21st November 1899, the following passage occurs:—"Our Empire is now labouring under great difficulties, which are daily becoming more serious. The various Powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling one another in their endeavours to be the first to seize upon our inmost territories. They think that China, having neither money nor troops, would never venture to go to war with them. They fail to understand, however, that there are certain things to which this Empire can never consent, and that, if hardly pressed upon, we have no alternative but to rely upon the justice of our cause." [3]

Writing on the question of the "Missionary Trouble" in 1899, Mr Gorst presents a view much apt to be overlooked. "One must also recollect that the relations

[1] *The Break-up of China*, p. 29. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 272-3.
[3] *Martyred Missionaries of the China Inland Mission*, 1901, Marshall Broomhall, B.A., p. 6.

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the Chinese have had with the nations professing this religion can scarcely have convinced them of the desirability of the new doctrine. Commercial greed, and a constant readiness to appeal to physical force, are the principal characteristics which have been displayed —in the eyes, at least, of the Chinese—by the men of the West. We talk in this country of imperial interests, of the expansion of our commerce, and of the maintenance of our rights; but one is sometimes apt to forget that these high-sounding phrases are expressed in less exalted language by the people who are differently affected by the acts which they imply. The Chinese have hitherto judged us by our actions; and they cannot forget that the presence of the foreigner in their country is the result of violence, and has been brought about by the repeated humiliation of their emperors. They see in our persistent efforts to gain a commercial footing in China, nothing but the lust of gold, and a determination to exploit the resources of the country for no one's benefit but our own. We know that in one sense they are mistaken. Our merchants naturally wish to open up trade for their own benefit; but they are well aware that they can only create a profitable market in China for their goods by increasing the wealth, or purchasing power, of the native consumer. We cannot quarrel with the Chinese, however, for viewing our intentions as purely one-sided and selfish; for we have given them little cause to think otherwise."[1]

"The actions of the European nations in China," says a Chinese writer, "are naturally not seen in the same light by the natives of the land as they appear to the people of Europe. When one considers how many innocent villages and towns have been burned or put to the sword in the different wars, reason for wonder ceases to exist at the intense antipathy of the people against foreigners. . . . For the gifts to the West in

[1] *China*, 1899, Harold E. Gorst, p. 176.

the shape of tea, silk, and the magnetic compass, we have so far received in return opium, missionaries, and bombardment."[1]

Moreover:—"A good deal of the ill feeling in the Chinese people against foreigners arises from the utter disregard by the framers of treaties for the interests of the natives—the real possessors of the Chinese Empire."[2]

In conclusion, one who writes under the name of "A Chinese Official" will sum up the case for China. ". . . I have never asserted that the Chinese are saints. I have said, and I still maintain, that if left to themselves, if the order to which they are accustomed is not violently disturbed, they are the most peaceful and law-abiding nation on the face of the earth. If, then, they have broken loose from their secular restraints, if for a moment they have shown those claws of the brute which no civilisation, be it yours or ours, though it may sheathe, will ever draw, the very violence of the outbreak serves only to prove how intense must have been the provocation. Do you realise what that provocation was? I doubt it! Permit me, then, briefly to record the facts.

"When first your traders came to China it was not at our invitation; yet we received them, if not with enthusiasm, at least with tolerance. So long as they were content to observe our regulations, we were willing to sanction their traffic, but always on the condition that it should not disturb our social and political order. To this condition, in earlier days, your countrymen consented to conform, and for many years, in spite of occasional disputes, there was no serious trouble between them and us. The trouble arose over a matter in regard to which you yourselves have hardly ventured to defend your own conduct. A considerable part of your trade was the trade in opium.

[1] *The Chinese Crisis from Within*, 1901, Wen Ching, pp. 7, 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

The use of this drug, we observed, was destroying the health and the morals of our people, and we therefore prohibited the trade. Your merchants, however, evaded the law, opium was smuggled in; till at last we were driven to take the matter into our own hands, and to seize and destroy the whole stock of the forbidden drug. Your Government made our action an excuse for war. You invaded our territory, exacted an indemnity, and took from us the island of Hong-Kong. Was this an auspicious beginning? Was it calculated to impress us with a sense of the justice and fair play of the British nation? Years went on; a petty dispute about the privileges of the flag—a dispute in which we still believe that we were in the right—brought us once more into collision with you. You made the unfortunate conflict an excuse for new demands. In conjunction with the French you occupied our capital, and imposed upon us terms which you would never have dared to offer to a European nation. We submitted because we must; we were not a military Power. But do you suppose our sense of justice was not outraged? Or later, when every European Power on some pretext or other has seized and retained some part of our territory, do you suppose because we cannot resist that we do not feel? To a Chinaman, who reviews the history of our relations with you during the past sixty years and more, must you not naturally appear to be little better than robbers and pirates? True, such a view is unduly harsh, and I do not myself altogether share it. A study of your official documents has convinced me that you genuinely believe that you have had on your side a certain measure of right, and I am too well aware of the complexities of all human affairs to deny that there may be something in your point of view. Still, I would ask you to consider the broad facts of the situation, dismissing the interminable controversies that arise on every point of detail. Which of us throughout has been the aggressor—we

who, putting our case at the worst, were obstinately resolved to maintain our society, customs, law, and polity, against the influence of an alien civilisation, or you who, bent on commercial gains, were determined at all cost to force an entrance into our territory, and to introduce along with your goods the leaven of your culture and ideas? If, in the collision which inevitably ensued, we gave cause of offence, we had at least the excuse of self-preservation. Our wrongs, if wrongs they were, were episodes in a substantial right; but yours were themselves the substance of your action.

"Consider for a moment the conditions you have imposed on a proud and ancient empire, an empire which for centuries believed itself to be at the head of civilisation. You have compelled us, against our will, to open our ports to your trade; you have forced us to permit the introduction of a drug which, we believe, is ruining our people; you have exempted your subjects residing amongst us from the operation of our laws; you have appropriated our coasting traffic; you claim the traffic of our inland waters. Every attempt on our part to resist your demands has been followed by new claims and new aggressions. You have compelled us to receive your missionaries, and when they by their ignorant zeal have provoked our people to rise in mass against them, that again you have made an excuse for new depredations, till we, not unnaturally, have come to believe that the cross is the pioneer of the sword, and that the only use you have for your religion is to use it as a weapon of war. Conceive for a moment the feelings of an Englishman subjected to similar treatment; conceive that we had permanently occupied Liverpool, Bristol, Plymouth; that we had planted on your territory thousands of men whom we had exempted from your laws; that along your coasts and navigable rivers our vessels were driving out yours; that we had insisted on your admitting spirits duty free to the manifest ruin of your population; and that we had

planted in all your principal towns agents to counteract the teachings of your Church and undermine the whole fabric of habitual belief on which the stability of your society depends. Would you be so greatly surprised, would you really be even indignant, if you found one day the Chinese Legation surrounded by a howling mob, and Confucian missionaries everywhere hunted to death? What right have you then to be surprised, what right have you to be indignant at even the worst that has taken place in China? What is there so strange or monstrous in our conduct? A Legation, you say, is sacrosanct by the law of nations. Yes; but remember that it was at the point of the sword that you forced us to receive Embassies, whose presence we have always regarded as a sign of national humiliation. But our mobs were barbarous and cruel. Alas! yes. And your troops? And your troops, nations of Christendom? Ask the once fertile land from Peking to the coast; ask the corpses of murdered men and outraged women and children; ask the innocent mingled indiscriminately with the guilty; ask the Christ, the lover of men, whom you profess to serve, to judge between us who rose in mad despair to save our country and you who, avenging crime with crime, did not pause to reflect that the crime you avenged was the fruit of your own iniquity!

"Well, it is over—over, at least, for the moment. I do not wish to dwell upon the past. Yet the lesson of the past is our only guide to the policy of the future. And unless you of the West will come to realise the truth; unless you will understand that the events which have shaken Europe are the Nemesis of a long course of injustice and oppression; unless you will learn that the profound opposition between your civilisation and ours gives no more ground why you should regard us as barbarians than we you; unless you will treat us as a civilised Power and respect our customs and our laws; unless you will accord us the

treatment you would accord to any European nation, and refrain from exacting conditions you would never dream of imposing on any Western Power—unless you will do this, there is no hope of any peace between us. You have humiliated the proudest nation in the world; you have outraged the most upright and just; with what results is now abundantly manifest. If ignorance was your excuse, let it be your excuse no longer. Learn to understand us, and in doing so, learn better to understand yourselves. To contribute to this end has been my only object in writing and publishing these letters. If I have offended, I regret it; but if it is the truth that offends, for that I owe and I offer no apology."[1]

[1] *Letters from a Chinese Official*, 1903, pp. 67-75 (otherwise, *Letters from John Chinaman*, 1902, G. L. Dickinson).

CHAPTER VI

A CHINESE OPINION ON THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

THE following is from an article in *Die Katholischen Missionen* of January 1907. The notes in brackets are by the original translator.

What do the leading circles in China really think of Christianity and the Christian missions in China? To this question we get an answer through a Memorial issued from high official quarters, which bears the title *Min kiao hsiang ngan* (Good relations between People and Church). It was composed in 1905, by two members of the Chinese Ministry of Public Instruction; and, by order of the famous Viceroy of Tche-li, Yuan-shi-k'ai, was confidentially distributed to all the mandarins of the province of Tche-li, ostensibly for the purpose of better enlightening them on the essence and nature of the Christian religion, and correspondingly regulating their attitude towards it. Rev. Fr. Jansen, missionary in East Mongolia, has, after many exertions, succeeded in obtaining a copy of the Memorial.

The paper contains 37 pages, and treats, in eight chapters, of the relations between China and the Christian missions.

I. The First Chapter opens with a panegyric on the doctrine of Confucius. This doctrine, it is said, is all the more admirable, as it—in contradistinction to other religions—does not enjoin any faith in extraordinary things, such as the existence of good and bad spirits. Confucius does not dogmatise; he allows even doubt of, and criticism on, his own views. Nowhere else is the like found.

The Buddhist and Mohammedan religions, naturalised in China, are living side by side in peace and concord. [That the good Moslem, about thirty years ago, ravaged the province of Kan-su with fire and sword, and massacred numberless Buddhists, seems to be unknown to the authors.]

The religion introduced from Europe has quite a different character. There, religious wars have always been the order of the day, and have cost the lives of hundreds of thousands. With the arrival of the Christian religion in China, these wars have been transferred thither also.

Here follows a short history of the missions. In the ninth year of the reign of Wan-Li, of the Ming dynasty [1582], Matthew Ricci [S.J.] is stated to have come to China. [The authors manifestly know nothing of the Franciscan mission during the Middle Ages.] More than one of these Jesuits at the Court of Peking have been favoured with high honours by the Emperors. The decrees of persecution, which followed later on, had not for their object to oppose [the Christian] religion, as such, but merely to put a stop to the continual quarrels between Pagans and Christians. Under pressure from foreign Powers, notably France, the free propagation and practice of the Christian religion is nowadays granted.

II. The Second Chapter is concerned with the treaties concluded with foreign Powers. These treaties—including those that refer to religion—are stated to have been always detrimental to China. The articles, however, which have reference to the spreading of the Christian religion, have been signed separately, and have nothing to do with the other stipulations. The Article of the Treaty concluded with France [1860] runs thus, they say :—

> "The Catholic religion aims at urging all men to do good. All, therefore, who join it, shall enjoy

protection and safety for their persons and property. They may, without restraint, meet for their religious practices, prayers, etc. The missionaries who, with friendly intention, travel through the country, shall everywhere find effectual protection on the part of the local authorities. Chinese who wish to conform to this religion, and keep its precepts, must not be molested or persecuted on that account. In conformity with this, all that has formerly been written and prescribed to hinder the religion of the Lord of the Heavens shall be cancelled in all the provinces."

[This final verb "cancelled" was rendered in the Chinese text by *k'uan mien* (pardoned, amnestied), whereas in the official French text the word *aboli* (abolished) was used. Some years later, the French Legation demanded that, instead of *k'uan mien*, the word *ko-t'schu* (abolished) should be inserted. In spite of this, the pamphlet gives the original text].

The protection promised in the Treaty relates only to the missionaries—so the authors of the pamphlet declare. Chinese Christians remain, just the same as before, subjects of the Empire, and cannot lay claim to special protection. As regards taxes and duties, Christians stand on a par with Heathens: yet Christians need not pay the special taxes for the Pagan ceremonies. Besides, neither are the Pagans bound to do this last, as these ceremonies are quite useless. [!]

The chapter closes with the assertion that the Christians have oppressed the Heathens, thereby rousing the hatred of the same, and thus they themselves [the Christians] caused the burning of their churches and the massacre of their missionaries.[?]

III. The Third Chapter suggests how Europeans, especially missionaries, ought to be treated:—

"We must show ourselves polite to them, since the Treaties order this. We should, therefore,

let them preach freely, since we cannot hinder it; they, on their part, however, must not interfere with other people's affairs. Furthermore, we must not forget that they are our guests; and that, if treated as such, get a good opinion of us, and will, in their turn, treat us civilly too."

"We must not oppress, yet just as little, fear, and, least of all, fawn upon, them; we ought simply to abide by the conditions of the Treaties, and the rules of friendship. In former times we have repeatedly ill-treated Europeans. That was unjust, and we acted, in those cases, just like one who receives a distinguished guest into his house without offering him a cup of tea. This manner of proceeding must be changed."

IV. The Fourth Chapter enters into the relations between Heathens and Christians. Here, the Heathens are described as *P'ing-min* (ordinary subjects), and the Christians as *Kiao-min* (subjects of the Church). In this a genuine Chinese trick is concealed. For, *P'ing*, though, in the first place, it means "ordinary," yet has also the signification of "peaceable." By this antithesis, the Christians are stigmatised as the real disturbers of the peace.

Here, once more, the pamphlet reverts to the attitude of the authorities, especially towards the missionaries :—

"It is true we have often ill-treated the missionaries. One of the principal causes of this lies in the fact that their exterior, language, manners and customs, differ widely from ours. Moreover, the chiefs of the Christians are foreigners, you understand. Hence it is that, when a Chinese wishes to become a Christian, his fellow-citizens try to dissuade him from doing so, because they do not like his becoming a foreigner. The Christian, on his part, considers himself as a foreigner too, and, as such, wishes to let his adver-

saries feel the power of which he is thus possessed. So Christians and Heathens are opposed to one another like fire and water."

"At the root of this attitude lies a great error; for, the acceptance of a religion is in exactly the same case as the acceptance of either a vegetable or a meat diet. It depends entirely on individual taste; why therefore find fault with it?

"Another cause of enmity are the duties and taxes, which both parties alike must pay, for the common good. A difficulty, however, arises with regard to the special expenses of Pagan ceremonies. But Christians cannot be forced to contribute to these; it would mean obliging them to transgress their religious precepts."

"Furthermore, there are Christians who make use of the influence of Europeans in order to oppress their Heathen fellow-citizens. The latter, naturally, repay them in their own coin. Such Christians, however, reflect little credit on their religion, for Jesus says:—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' They should be denounced, both to the mandarin and their priest. Still, one ought to guard against charging the Church, as such, with the misdeeds of individuals; for, so one excites hatred against the Church, and conjures up those complications in which China can only be the loser. For, just as the murderers, so also the murdered, are Chinese; while it is our own country which has to pay the indemnities after such massacres."

V. The Fifth Chapter enlarges upon the origin and propagation of the Christian religion. Here it is evident that the authors, in stating their case, depend exclusively on Protestant sources. First come facts about the life of Jesus. Then the Greek Schism and the Reformation are briefly touched upon, with all the

stock accusations against the pre-Reformation Church. Finally, the loss of Temporal Power of the Pope is emphasised—all this in language elsewhere employed by fanatical Protestants. A digression follows on the Boxer Rising which, indeed, is condemned, but, in the end, placed to the account of bad Christians, although the authors, by all sorts of fine words, endeavour to keep up the appearance of fair-mindedness.

VI. The Sixth Chapter endeavours to give a description of the Christian religion. It is couched in such wise, that the contradiction between precept and practice on the part of Christians stands out in the boldest possible relief.

To this end, the writers select from the Gospel some of its most beautiful doctrines. The command to love one's neighbour as oneself is spoken highly of; likewise Christ's injunction to forgive until seventy times seven; to rejoice if reviled and persecuted; to do good to one's enemies; and to offer the left cheek if struck on the right :—

> "Yet," so the Memorial continues, "do those Christians, then, act up to these instructions, who make loud complaint about trifles, or who make use of their title of Christians to oppress the Heathens? Is not this acting directly contrary to the teaching of Jesus?"

Instead of for ever carrying on lawsuits for the sake of temporal advantage, the Christians—we read in the pamphlet—should pay heed to the advice of Christ to the young man, viz., to sell everything, give to the poor and follow Him.

The chapter winds up with the protestation :—

> "If we here expose the faults of the Christians, this does not arise from hatred or bad intention; we only establish the facts."

Still, it is certain that, whoever reads this chapter, will get a very bad impression of the Christians.

The whole is written with that caustic sarcasm of which the Chinese have such a thorough mastery.

VII. The Seventh Chapter is devoted to the litigation which is carried on *re* the missions and Christians :—

> "The greatest troubles," it is stated, "which China has had for the last ten years are these law-suits. They have cost numerous people their lives, and ourselves heavy fines, and even portions of our territory. The other religions have never caused us such embarrassments. Neither did the Catholic religion do so, until the end of the Ming dynasty [*i.e.*, in the first period of the Catholic religion, from 1583 to 1644]. But nowadays it is not a finger's breadth behind the others."

In proof of the foregoing assertions, some of the complications between the Chinese Government and foreign Powers, with their awkward consequences, are instanced : the indemnities after the massacre of Tientsin in 1870 ; the affair in South Shan-Tung, with the cession of Kiau-Tchau to Germany—because of the murder of two missionaries—following close in its train ; lastly the indemnity paid after the Boxer Rising.

VIII. The Eighth Chapter glances at the state of religion in other countries :—

> "In Europe and America religious toleration prevails. The European Governments withdrew from the tutelage of the Church in the eighteenth century. To-day, both have their own separate sphere of action, in such wise, however, that a Christian, by membership of the Church, does not cease to be a citizen of his own country. The number of Christians who are devoted to their native land is very great."
>
> As examples, Cavour and Mazzini [!] are cited. "In Japan, the Christian religion was, before the present order of things, proscribed still more severely than in our own country. To-day,

complete religious freedom is accorded there. The Japanese, who is so proud of his country, does not lose his affection for it by the fact that he professes a religion which indeed enjoins this love.

"Among Chinese Christians also, there are, doubtless, many who understand this ; still, some evidently do not. And this is unfortunate since—our country being very weak compared to her opponents—we must, even if united like children of a family, be prepared for possible oppression. But, to what misery do we expose ourselves, if we live in discord ?"

"These are, in brief outline," continues *Die Katholischen Missionen,* "the contents of this—in more than one respect—remarkable Memorial. With all its exaggerations, inaccuracies, and distorted views, which are, indeed, easily understood, a certain striving for objective judgment must, on the whole, be acknowledged. It would indeed mean progress, if the Chinese authorities, in their attitude towards the Christian religion, would but substitute a little political moderation, such as here recommended, for open hatred or treacherous malice.

At the same time, the Memorial shows clearly that the deepest cause of the aversion to Christianity is not the religion, as such, but its close connection with the so-called political Protective Powers. That China distrusts them, and returns hatred and aversion for their violent encroachment upon her most intimate domestic affairs, is not to be wondered at. When she sees that the Mission continually has recourse to the armed force of the Protective Power concerned ; and supported thereby, triumphantly carries through its lawsuits and claims for indemnity, what wonder that the distrust and aversion of the Chinese is extended to the Church and Missions too ; and that the latter appear to them as a thorn in the flesh ?

"In the eyes of many Chinese," the Protestant George B. Smyth, Director of the Anglo-Chinese

> College at Fu-chau (Fokien), justly writes, "the whole missionary activity appears suspicious, because of the flagrant contradiction between its ostensible object, and the attitude of some Christian Powers towards China. Who can wonder at that? One cannot go to a nation with the Bible in one hand, and the cudgel in the other, and expect it to receive both of them cheerfully" (*North American Review*, 1900, p. 195).

Prior to this, the same principle had already been laid down by a French missionary, Père Louvet :—

> "The efforts of the missionaries," so he concludes his exhortation, "must therefore be directed towards keeping their affairs clear of politics. From this point of view, I, for one, can only deplore the intervention of the European Powers. Nothing more legitimate, to be sure, but also nothing more dangerous, and better calculated to excite the national pride of the Chinese, and the hatred of the educated classes."

No doubt also, the consciousness of having the political Protective Power behind them, makes many missionaries overlook certain delicate considerations in their dealings with the native authorities, the neglect of which considerations wounds beyond measure the Chinese, who, in this respect, are very sensitive.

As an eminent expert in Chinese affairs, Père Joseph Gonnet, S.J., strongly insisted, decades ago, the models, even in this respect, must be the missionaries of the earlier period, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who conformed as far as possible in every way—in language, dress, manners, customs, forms of social intercourse, etiquette — to the peculiarities of the Chinese, and spared their national susceptibilities with punctilious care."[1]

[1] *Die Katholischen Missionen*, January 1907, pp. 82 *sqq*.

CHAPTER VII

CHINA AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

"TOLERATION of Christian missionaries, extorted by force from China, placed Christians on a different platform from the other foreign religions, Mohammedanism and Buddhism, to which China of its own notion extended complete toleration. Christianity is therefore associated with the humiliation of the Empire, a calamity which is yet [1891] fresh in the memory of the living generation."[1]

But "Let no one deceive himself by thinking the opposition is mainly against Romanists. The Chinese have not yet [1890] generally arrived at such nice distinction in Christianity, as the difficulties which Protestants, like Romanists, have in the interior, fully show."[2]

And "the fact of the T'ai-P'ing Rebellion having had its origin in a religious movement, causes the authorities to be jealous of any sect or congregation of men professing doctrines at variance with the recognised creeds of China."[3]

"Missionaries of every creed," says Mr Michie, "—and they are varied enough—have aroused the detestation of the people of China of all classes." The people, he tells us, cannot be distinguished from the *literati*, and called friendly. Wherever missionaries

[1] *Missionaries in China*, 1891, Alexander Michie, p. 5.

[2] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 410.

[3] *Waifs and Strays from the Far East*, 1876, Frederic Henry Balfour, p. 23.

settle, they gain the affections of many natives, but these friendly natives lose caste among their neighbours. If people did not hate them, they could not possibly be worked up. "But the people are always and everywhere ready to rise at a moment's notice." When mobs arise, native Christians are the first object of attack. "The hostile feeling is obviously increasing in intensity, and spreading with the spread of missionaries themselves."[1]

Mr Michie attempts to account for the hostility to missions. To the Scriptural explanation, that it is their Master who is hated, he opposes the reminder of the toleration extended to Mohammedanism and Buddhism. Nor will he accept the plea of diabolic intervention, as the Chinese are tolerant of religion pure and simple. Hence, "the presumption is irresistibly strong that it is never the religious, but some other element in the missionary propaganda, that rouses the passions of the Chinese. Instead of exciting them to wrath, indeed, the standing wonder is, that Christianity being what it is, and the condition of the average Chinese being what it is, the common people do not hear it gladly . . . while waiting for such explanation, the missionaries must stand provisionally responsible for either so misunderstanding their message, or so mismanaging the delivery of it, as to render it virtually of no effect over the larger portion of their field of operations.'[2]

Proceeding to analysis, Mr Michie enumerates first, race-hatred—not peculiar to the Chinese—"aggravated by those very considerations of benefits conferred which, with the self-complacency almost peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon forms of Christianity, the missionary bodies expect to alleviate it." China is hospitable to those who come as guests and suitors, but, "according to the working of the human mind, the attainments of which we boast, and the superfine moralities which we

[1] *Missionaries in China*, pp. 5-9. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

profess with not a little braying of trumpet, are the things most calculated to excite the hatred, not unmixed with fear, of the people on whom we have so brusquely intruded."[1]

"Chinese officials and people take no account of the varieties of missionaries." The Catholic Church has been associated with the aggressive policy of France; a Power which has been suspected of cherishing designs against China, and which has employed the missionaries as political and even military spies."[2]

"Indiscretions in connection with hospitals may at any time have serious consequences." These are dismissed as not being the causes of the trouble, "they are the occasions."[3]

"Indifference to the opinions of others, and disrespect for their institutions are somewhat characteristic of the race from which Protestant missionaries mostly come. . . . Constitutionally, they seem to be incompetent for anything but a commanding rôle; hence they are scarcely the ideal stuff of which to make missionaries to races which inherit adult civilisations. (With undeveloped races, the case is, of course, wholly different.)"[4]

"It was a sage, a vigorous, and a successful missionary," says Mr Julian Ralph, "at the head of a large school for Chinese children, who tried to persuade me to broach this most delicate subject. He knew that I had crossed the Pacific with more than a hundred English and American missionaries, and that, afterwards, I had made two or more journeys into the interior, and had met many missionaries and questioned some very shrewd Chinamen upon the extraordinary enmity to the missionaries of the highest as well as the humblest people of China.

"It was upon my return to the treaty port after a second journey inland, that this broadminded mis-

[1] *Missionaries in China*, pp. 12-13.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

sionary asked me what I thought of the missionaries and their methods. I, at first, declined to answer him. This was because, in my talks with other missionaries of narrower mental grasp, I quickly saw that my point of view was not theirs.

"Instead of arguing, or meeting fact with fact, they usually took the ground that whoever criticised them had imbibed the prejudices of the white people in the treaty ports. This was not at all my case, but it appeared peculiar that there should be such a prejudice. It also seemed that if the missionaries knew that their own fellow countrymen found fault with them, they should inquire closely into the reason, and try to remedy it. . . . On the ship bound for China I was struck by the mediocre mental character of too many of the men. They were often villagers and men of the narrowest horizon. It was these who declared what they would do and have and would not have, when they reached their stations—as if the Christianising of an ancient, a polished, and a highly cultivated race was to be carried out by a word of command instead of by the most sage, deft, tactful, and sympathetic means. 'I'll have no convert who permits his wife to cramp her feet,' said one, and that fairly illustrates the mental attitude towards their work of too many whom I met. Small feet, concubinage, even the reverent regard of all good Chinamen for their ancestors, were to be instantly discountenanced, before the true modes of life and worship were established in their places."[1]

"Through the transparent robes of their humility," pursues Mr Michie, "may generally be traced the imperious spirit, impatient of opposition and delay. Missionaries often try, sincerely enough, to live down to their people; but to wear the clothes of the poor and eat their food may be nearer to formal condescension than to true sympathy. The one thing needful, the entering freely into the spirit of the people, is of

[1] *The Glasgow Weekly Record*, 8th September 1900.

exceedingly rare attainment. Missionaries talk much, and very naturally, of the good things they offer to the Chinese, and the sacrifices they make for them. But gratitude is not awakened in that way, much less love. Natives instinctively fear foreigners, *et dona ferentes*, and the more the gifts are pressed on their attention, the more suspicious they naturally become."[1]

"Missionaries," Mr Gorst tells us, "are regarded in a great measure as the emissaries of foreign governments, and any political influence which they may acquire is therefore regarded with the greatest suspicion and dislike by the Chinese authorities."[2]

The compilers of the famous Circular of the Chinese Government of 9th February 1871—which will be considered later—noted that "trade had in no degree occasioned differences between China and the Powers," whereas, "the same could not be said of the missions, which engendered ever-increasing abuses."[3] Those compilers must have been blessed with singularly short memories! For, what had the history of the foreign relations of China been, except a record of continual difficulties, all having their origin in trade—licit or illicit? culminating some eleven years before in the series of "object lessons," thus graphically portrayed by Captain Brinkley:—"The desire shown by the Chinese to segregate their imperial capital from the disturbances that foreign intercourse had brought, under the conventions; and to confine the operations of foreign merchants to the treaty ports, was quoted at the time, and is still quoted, as evidence of political blindness and conservative stupidity. Yet they had Canton for object lesson; Canton, where acts of war were virtually normal incidents; where the city had been twice bombarded during the past two years, and where the Viceroy had just been seized and carried into exile by a foreign

[1] *Missionaries in China*, p. 38.
[2] *China*, 1899, Harold E. Gorst, p. 177.
[3] *China, etc.*, 1904, Captain F. Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 140.

Power. They had Macao for object lesson; Macao, where foreign pirates took refuge, and where barracoons yearly received twenty-five thousand Chinese subjects, kidnapped, or decoyed by false pretences to sell themselves into a life of exile and hardship. They had their own inland waters for object lesson, where sanguinary outrages were constantly committed by European and American adventurers. And they had Hong-Kong for object lesson, where pirates and smugglers had their centre of organisation, and where territorial aggression on the mainland had commenced simultaneously with the capture of Canton by the Anglo-French forces."[1]

H.M. Minister in Peking seems also to have been sceptical on the subject. Thus Mr Wade to Wên Siang:—"In the opening of Your Excellency's note, you remark that in trade there is little to object to. If this be so, it is a matter of regret that so many commercial questions have to be referred from the ports to Peking; and that, even after reference, when settlement is obtained at all, months, if not years, must first be allowed to elapse. Foreign governments will be by no means disposed to admit that our commercial relations are all that we could desire."[2]

But the compilers of the Circular "did not note," continues Captain Brinkley, "a significant fact which can scarcely fail to occur to the reader, namely, that in the pre-convention days—days prior to the French protectorate of the Roman Catholic missions, and to the residence of religious propagandists in the interior under extra-territorial conditions—there had been no purely popular demonstrations of murderous animosity against Christians. Official persecutions there had been, indeed; but the people of their own motion showed no disposition to resort to acts of violence.

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 15.

[2] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1872, p. 17.

That is very striking, especially as regards the time when Christian propagandists, being proscribed by the authorities, were obliged to carry on their labours secretly, and could not count on official protection or redress against any outrage on the part of the people. When the first passports for missionaries were signed by Baron Gros in 1860, twenty-eight of them bore the names of propagandists living secretly yet safely in the provinces. That marked difference between the temper of the populace towards Christian propagandism in pre-convention and post-convention days, seems to show clearly that the animosity of which Christian preachers and their flocks are now so often the victims, is provoked, not by Christianity itself, but by changed methods of propagandism, namely, the methods of extra-territoriality."[1]

As regards the French Protectorate, Sir Rutherford Alcock assures us that, "French interference between the Chinese authorities and the subjects of the Emperors of China has never had any treaty warrant, or justification by the law of nations. . . . China has the remedy in her own hands, to a certain extent, by refusing to admit the pretension."[2]

In 1885, Mr J. G. Dunn, an English Catholic, was sent to Rome on a secret errand: first, to effect the removal of the Catholic Cathedral in Peking—concerning which, presently—secondly, to induce the Holy See to appoint a Nuncio or Apostolic Delegate to China who should represent all Catholic Missions. [The Peking Administration probably recognised the desirability of dealing, for once, with a Power which possessed no gunboats.] Mgr. Agliardi was nominated, but before anything could be done, the French Government compelled the cancelling of the appointment by threatening to terminate the Concordat, withdraw the subvention

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., pp. 140-1.

[2] "France, China, and the Vatican" (*Nineteenth Century*, November 1886), p. 617.

to the Church in France, and sequestrate its ministers.[1]

"The French hostilities of 1883, and the use made of their native Christians in Tonquin and elsewhere by the Government of the Republic, had some effect," we learn from Professor Parker, "in concentrating upon the Roman Catholics in China most of the odium, which had been formerly shared in equal measure by Protestants."[2]

Mr Michie quotes from a native newspaper of October 1886. "Nothing is better calculated to quicken the apprehension of the Government on this point, than the extraordinary excitement of the French Government, which insists on protecting the Christians in China, whether they desire this protection or not. . . . It is rather suspicious that the French Government, the greatest enemy of Christianity, which is constantly oppressing the priests and confiscating their property, should be so intensely desirous of protecting Christians in China, where this protection is not required. . . . The missionaries have among them men of great learning and much skill in sciences, which the Emperor Kangshi—who must always stand as a model for Chinese rulers—knew very well how to utilise. The present generation possesses men no less capable of rendering good services to China, and there would be no reason for not using them if the suspicion of their being agents of the French Government were once cleared away."[3]

On the Protestant side of the question, it may be, that the humorous remark of the President of St John's College, Shanghai, affords some explanation too. "It is sometimes jocularly said that, in former

[1] *The Englishman in China*, 1900, Alexander Michie, vol. ii., pp. 342-7.

[2] *China and Religion*, 1905, Professor Edward Harper Parker, pp. 224-5.

[3] *The Englishman in China*, 1900, Alexander Michie, vol. ii., pp. 348-51.

days, missionary work was conducted in the spirit of *Henry Martyn*, but that in these present times it is more often attempted in the spirit of the *Martini-Henri*."[1] Perhaps this may explain the fact that the invented Chinese character for "rifle" also means "coming happiness."[2]

On 7th May 1907, H. E. Taotai Tong—representing H. E. Tuan Fang, Viceroy of the Liang-Kiang Provinces—addressed the China Centenary Missionary Conference at Shanghai, to the following effect:—"The history of Protestant missionary effort in China had been chequered, as all ethical movements must be. Discipline was necessary to the sustentation of great ideas, the efficiency of the organisations represented at the Conference demonstrated that truism. Protestant missionaries were actuated by the great idea of doing good, and he believed they had met with considerable success. Still, they had not a monopoly of the idea, which was the common possession of the world's great family. The general tendency of mankind was towards good rather than towards evil. As to the quality and nature of the progress made, there must necessarily be controversy, but difference in ideas should not, even in religious matters, exclude charity and toleration. The one method of which every impartial and thinking man disapproved was the employment of force. To the Chinese, as well as to the non-partisan foreigner, the outstanding fact in connection with missionary effort was the too great dependence on the arm of the flesh, rather than on the arm of the Lord. To suffer injustice uncomplainingly was more Christian than to exact treaty rights; to suffer injury than to claim pecuniary indemnity; to pardon the offender than to demand chastisement. Until convincing evidence was given the Chinese people that methods pursued in the past would

[1] *The Outbreak in China*, 1900, Rev. F. L. Hawks-Pott, D.D., p. 103.

[2] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 542.

not obtain again, an overwhelming negative influence must be felt on missionary efforts. Other factors militating against the achievement of missionary ideals were the lack of social intercourse between Chinese and foreigners, and the assumption of superiority by the latter. Why should the room in which the Conference had met belong to the 'Chinese' Y.M.C.A.? Why should not the word 'Chinese' be removed? Again, missionaries were often deficient in knowledge of Chinese classics, and so appeared illiterate to those they came to teach; greater study would emphasise the facts that neither Confucian nor ancestor worship was considered by the Chinese as worship in the Western sense of the word. A proper consideration of the religious susceptibilities of the Chinese people would conduce not only to the creation and maintenance of good relations between the missionary and authorities, but would enable the missionary to assist China, and China to assist the missionary." [1]

Concerning the riots of 1891, we find the Marquis of Salisbury writing to Sir J. Walsham:—"In answer to questions put to him by Sir P. Currie, he [the Chinese Minister in London] said that there had not been for many years such an anti-foreign outbreak, but he did not attribute it to any widespread feeling against foreigners, but to the machinations of the secret societies existing among the disbanded soldiery, the object of which was to stir up trouble against the government." [2]

In support of this view, Mr Gundry remarks:—"What is perhaps stronger and less interested evidence is, that the Viceroy of Nanking memorialised, asking for increased powers to punish the culprits, and that an active crusade has ever since been carried on against the society alleged to be concerned." [3]

[1] *The China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907, *North China Daily News* Office, p. 45. [2] Parliamentary Paper, China (3), 1891, p. 16.
[3] *China Present and Past*, 1895, R. S. Gundry, p. 221.

But, whoever stirred it up, there is no question as to the feeling of the rioters, if deeds are any criterion. "Now that the excitement has cooled considerably, I have been able to go to examine the various ruined compounds," wrote Mr Consul Everard, of Ichang, on 8th September 1891. "What struck me particularly was the intense hatred of everything of a foreign origin which is everywhere evinced. The rioters did not so much carry off as smash into ten thousand pieces whatever they could lay their hands on of a breakable nature. They cut down the trees in the gardens, tore up the flowers and shrubs, smashed all the flower-pots, scattered the contents of tinned stores, and in fact behaved like the wildest savages."[1]

That the Chinese Government — evidently aware that the Catholic Church is not regarded with too much favour in England—is not above making a point, if possible, by playing on British prejudices, appears plain. "The Chinese Minister pointed out that the riots were directed against Roman Catholic missions, and not against Protestant missions, who did not provoke the same ill-will in China. He believed we had also found Roman Catholic priests very troublesome at times. England was looked upon in China as a better friend than the other Powers, and he hoped that we should not join with them in putting pressure on the Chinese Government. Sir P. Currie replied that the last statement of the Chinese Minister was hardly consistent with the fact that one of the first killed at Wuhsueh was an English missionary."[2]

The rioters in Chentu (Szechuan) appear to have been equally thorough in 1895. "Like a thunderbolt from the blue, the storm burst, and ceased not till every mission compound in Chentu, Protestant and Roman Catholic, had been first looted and then completely destroyed. In some cases the buildings were burned, but most were torn down and carried away piece by

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1892, p. 59. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

piece, until in a few hours' time not so much as a foundation stone, or a piece of timber the size of a shingle, remained."[1]

Colonel Scott Moncrieff is of opinion that "although, both in India in 1857, and in China in 1900 [the Boxer year], the missionaries were not to blame for the massacres and bloodshed which took place; and although other causes, entirely unconnected with Christian truth, were at the bottom of the upheaval in both cases, it is certainly true that Christian missions in both cases were involved, and that hatred of Christianity was one of the most powerful motives in the minds of the agitators."[2]

Another view of the matter is that "the hatred directed against the missionaries is only a peculiarly virulent form of the hatred directed against Europeans generally. . . . Missionary work is practically the only agency through which the influence of Western civilisation can at present [1896] reach the masses. The European merchant is scarcely brought into contact with any other than the trading classes, and his influence is, at any rate, localised within the vicinity of the treaty ports where he resides. That of foreign officials is mainly restricted within a similar area, and confined to the Chinese officials with whom he has to deal. The missionary alone goes out into the byways as well as the highways, and, whether he resides in a treaty port, or in some remote province, strives to live with, among, and for the people."[3]

"A missionary," wrote Dr Edkins to Sir Rutherford Alcock, in 1869, "was not long ago driven out of a large city in the Province of Honan by a mob, led on by the native gentry, the cause of whose hatred to him

[1] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, 1907, edited by D. MacGillivray, p. 113.

[2] *Eastern Missions from a Soldier's Standpoint*, 1907, Colonel G. K. Scott Moncrieff, C.I.E., pp. 17-18.

[3] *The Far Eastern Question*, 1896, Valentine Chirol, pp. 79-80.

was given in these words, shouted after him as he left the city:—'You burned our palace, you killed our Emperor, you sell poison to the people, and now you come professing to teach us virtue!"[1]

"In mediæval Europe," says Mr Diósy, "if there was an outbreak of the plague or a failure of the crops, the mob generally burnt a Jew; in Modern China, in case of any calamity, or any untoward event, such as the loss of a pig-tail, they stone a missionary. There is little doubt that tail-cutting outrages have sometimes been planned by deep schemers, with the prospect of raising a popular ferment in view of consequent anti-foreign outrages, and the embarrassments into which they lead the Government at Peking."[2]

"The cause of the riots [at Chentu, in 1895] was the innate suspicion on the part of all classes of the people with regard to foreigners, their presence in this far inland city, and their possible evil designs. Such suspicion, gradually accumulating, was very easily changed into hatred, and this again into action, fomented, as it undoubtedly was, by some of the highest officials. This last statement is proved by the fact that the riots were allowed to proceed absolutely unchecked for twenty-four hours in a great provincial capital, the residence of a Viceroy, a Tartar General, a Provincial Commander-in-Chief, a Provincial Judge, a Provincial Treasurer, and two Taotais, with many thousands of soldiers at their beck and call."[3]

"A few years ago, a Hindu soldier on guard at the British Consulate at Chinkiang struck a Chinaman. In half an hour all the foreign houses in the settlement were laid in ashes. At Canton, a foreign tide-waiter in the Customs Service shot a boy by accident. A furious attack was made on the foreign quarter, which narrowly escaped destruction. At Ichang, in 1895, a

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (9), 1870, p. 5.
[2] *The New Far East*, 1900, Arthur Diósy, F.R.G.S., p. 74.
[3] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, p. 114.

shot from an air-gun striking a small official, the population threw themselves on the handful of foreigners, and a massacre would have ensued, but for the opportune arrival of a force from a gunboat. These instances (and such are numerous) suffice to show what fires are burning beneath a thin crust of cold lava, and to prove that if missionaries are attacked oftener than others, it is chiefly because they are more exposed."[1]

"The old opposition is not dead," remarks Rev. T. Selby, "and flames up at intervals, especially when the political relations of China with the outside world become critical and strained."[2] For example:—

"In the summer of 1884 several French warships appeared, and very soon the news spread throughout Formosa that the French were coming. The people were both alarmed and enraged. Their animosity was aroused against all foreigners and those associated with them. The missionary was at once suspected, and native Christians were accused of being in league with France. Torture and death were threatened against all our converts."[3]

Mrs Bishop gives a more striking illustration still. "Manchuria is far less hostile to foreigners than the rest of China, and the name 'devil' may even be used as a polite address with the prefix of 'honourable'!" After war was declared between China and Japan (1st August 1894), anti-foreign feeling grew rapidly, the people "wrecking Christian chapels, not from anti-Christian feeling but from anti-foreign feeling. Their hatred of foreigners culminated at Liau-Yang, 40 miles from Muk-den, when Manchu soldiers, after wrecking the Christian chapel, beat Mr Wylie, a Scotch missionary, to death, and attacked the chief magistrate for his friendliness to the 'foreign-devils.' . . . Anti-foreign

[1] *A Cycle of Cathay*, 1896, W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D., p. 447.
[2] *Chinamen at Home*, 1900, Thomas G. Selby, p. 202.
[3] *From Far Formosa*, 1896, George Leslie Mackay, D.D., p. 189.

feeling rose rapidly in Muk-den . . . the 'street-chapels' were closed, the native Christians, a large body, being very apprehensive for their own safety, being regarded as 'one with the foreigners,' who, unfortunately, were generally supposed to be 'the same as the Japanese.'"[1]

"It is not to be questioned," wrote Mr Holcombe, in 1904, "that mobs and violent disturbances are more frequently directed against missionaries than against any other foreigners. The explanation of this fact is very simple. All other classes of foreigners live at the treaty ports, under the guns, or within easy reach of the ubiquitous man-of-war. They have little direct connection with the masses of Chinese, and seldom or never come into contact with them. And those Chinese who live at the ports have learned by bitter experience the danger of troubling the foreigners."[2]

The Minister of the United States in China tells us in 1906:—"It is not because of his religion that the missionary is attacked by mobs; it is because of his race. It is the foreigner and not the Christian against whom the mobs are gathered. The disturbances of 1900 have abundantly proved this to be true."[3]

The Circular of the Chinese Government, beforementioned, proposed as the remedies for these, and other difficulties presently to be noticed, "that all foreigners visiting, or residing in, the interior of the country for the purposes of Christian propagandism should divest themselves of extra-territorial privileges and become subject to territorial jurisdiction, as they would be in any Western country. In that case their work, falling under the supervision of local officialdom, equally with the work of propagandists of other foreign faiths, as Islamism and Buddhism, would at once cease to be an object of popular suspicion, and the communities of native

[1] *Korea and her Neighbours*, 1898, Mrs Bishop, vol. i., pp. 244-5.

[2] *China's past and future*, 1904, Hon. Chester Holcombe, pp. 94-5.

[3] *China and her People*, 1906, Hon. Charles Denby, LL.D., vol. i., p. 225.

Christians, being no longer invidiously segregated from their fellow-countrymen, would be able to cherish and practise their faith in unobtrusive tranquillity."[1]

Commenting on the Circular and its allegations—which for the most part concerned Catholic missionaries—Captain Brinkley observes that "the question of permanent interest is, what confidence may be reposed in the *Tsung-li Yamên's* accusation? It is here that the silence of the Roman Catholic missionaries presents a barrier to clear judgment. These heroic men never open their mouths in self-defence. They evidently think that whatever suffering the charges of detractors inflict on them must be borne patiently and in silence as part of the duty they owe to their cause. In this respect their consistency is splendid. They look for a higher judgment than that of man. No testimony offers, therefore, except that of the Chinese, or of men who, professing a different creed, may not be held entirely free from bias. The unanimity of such testimony, however, removes all possibility of doubting that the state of affairs in 1871 was pretty much what the *Tsung-li Yamên* represented it to be, and that it remains so to this day. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic missionaries must be assumed to have deliberately weighed the advantages of the system they pursue. They are eminently competent men, and no consideration of inconvenience or suffering for themselves would possess the smallest weight as against the better promotion of their cause. That they would gladly submit their own persons to Chinese jurisdiction if they thought that Christian propagandism would be advantaged by such a step admits of no question. . . . It is not to be supposed that the Governments of Europe and America would consent to entrust the persons and property of the missionaries to Chinese jurisdiction. Whatever the missionaries themselves might choose, their countries will never officially sanction

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., pp. 137-8.

such an arrangement until China effects reforms justifying it."[1]

On this matter, Mr Holcombe gives it as his opinion that "the suggestion that missionaries should cast off all claims of nationality, and place themselves at the mercy of the people they desire to serve, refusing to appeal to their own governments for protection is as idle and valueless as the effort to conceal a foreign nationality by donning Chinese clothes. The Chinaman despises no man so much as the man without a country. He would not believe in any such absolute expatriation, and would decide that the simple-minded missionary was even a deeper trickster than others of his class. Or, he would conclude that this homeless individual had left his country for his country's good—had either been banished, or was in hiding because of some criminal offence."[2]

In the absence of any official pronouncement, the question may be asked:—Is it probable in the face of the events of the last forty years or so, that Christianity would have been advantaged at any time by the adoption of such a step as was advocated in 1871 by the *Tsung-li Yamên?*

Before the days of "treaties of commerce, forced upon the Chinese under circumstances which left them no power to refuse,"[3] the Christian missionary carried on his work with such results as might accrue; but China was left comparatively unmolested.

In these latter times, what with the Christian nations—whose citizens the missionaries are—"entering upon states of reprisals"; "requesting leases" of valuable territory here; claiming "spheres of influence" there; and clamouring for "concessions" of all sorts everywhere; not to mention some, at least, ostracising Chinese subjects by taxation or prohibition; while our

[1] Brinkley, vol. xii., pp. 142-3-4.

[2] *China's past and future*, 1904, Hon. Chester Holcombe, p. 106.

[3] *The Englishman in China*, 1900, Alexander Michie, vol. ii., p. 227.

own country has permitted the hoardings of its cities to be placarded with pictures representing cruelties alleged to be practised by British subjects upon the hapless labourer from the Flowery Land; and one and all, forgetting, in their anxiety to be beforehand with other "pioneers of civilisation" and become rich, the elementary fact that China belongs to the Chinese—in effect, undoing from without, all that the missionaries were endeavouring to build up from within—Christian Missions have assumed a different aspect.

Thus the course proposed might not inconceivably have resulted in the decimation of the ranks of the missionaries, not by martyrdom for their Faith, as of old, and with which those concerned would have been the last to quarrel; but as the result of vengeance exacted for the doings of their Christian compatriots; the destruction of the work hitherto accomplished; and the lapse of, at least, a portion of the body of native Christians into the heathenism from which Europe and America so loudly proclaim it to be their mission to reclaim them.

A distinguished personage was stated by a speaker at a meeting of the Church Missionary Society to have publicly declared that "Christian truths were the most valuable British possession."[1] They may be so regarded in India, where those words were spoken. In the Far East they appear to be viewed in quite another light, viz., a stepping-stone to further possessions, and those of a material order.

"First the missionary, then the gunboat, then the land-grabbing—that is the procession of events in the Chinese mind,"[2] said one who wrote in 1901.

"The folly of our missionary methods," says Mr Krausse, "is further accentuated by their connection with other interests. If there be any truth in the plaint that the attempted Christianising of the Chinese is

[1] *The Times*, 2nd May 1906.

[2] *The War of the Civilisations*, 1901, George Lynch, p. 254.

undertaken for the good of the people's souls, then should the missionary be kept apart from the trader and prospector. But he is not. The one invariably follows the other; and the Chinese realise that the advent of the disciple of Christ is the symbol of the approach of the 'barbarian' trader, who in turn will be succeeded by the concession hunter and exploiter."[1]

Sir Rutherford Alcock told us, years ago, that "we cannot be surprised if the rulers of China and the people look upon all missionaries, and those more especially of the Roman Church under French protection, with profound distrust and hatred. . . . With this ever present menace and source of anxiety pre-occupying the minds of the responsible members of the Government, the Prince of Kung's parting words to me when I was leaving Peking, no doubt expressed the thought that was uppermost in his mind: 'If only you could relieve us of missionaries and opium, all might be well!'"[2]

The Christian nations having declined to do the last, China is setting about it herself. There does not appear to be any prospect of the application of a similar drastic process being permitted in the case of missionaries, who will therefore remain. This being so, it is to be deplored that the outcome of the intercourse of the Christian nations with China should have been that, as lately as the opening years of the present century, she stored up "a fund of the deepest resentment" towards them; and that at any period during that intercourse, missionaries—the exponents of the Faith, by the precepts of which those nations, or most of them, claim to be guided—should have been regarded with "profound distrust and hatred"; not because they taught the "Worship of the Lord of the Heavens"

[1] *The Far East, its History and its Question*, 1900, Alexis Krausse, p. 211.

[2] *The Nineteenth Century*, November 1886, Sir Rutherford Alcock, p. 620.

(Roman Catholic Faith), or the "Jesus Doctrine" (Protestant Faith), to show the Chinese how to attain to the "better land" in the next world; but because they were the brethren of the "Foreign-Devil" only anxious to relieve them of the land they possessed in the present one.

PART III

CATHOLIC MISSIONS

CHAPTER I

THE MISSIONARY AT WORK

A TRAVELLER in Korea—after describing the good work done by Protestant missionaries, and the harmony prevailing among the different denominations, as well as the cordial and sympathetic feeling towards the Koreans—makes the following observations:—"As I looked upon those lighted faces, wearing an expression strongly contrasting with the dull, dazed look of apathy which is characteristic of the Korean, it was impossible not to recognise that it was the teaching of the Apostolic doctrines of sin, judgment to come, and divine love, which had brought about such results; all the more remarkable because, according to the missionaries, a large majority of those who had renounced dæmon worship, and were living in fear of the true God, had been attracted to Christianity, in the first instance, by the hope of gain! This and almost unvarying testimony to the same effect, confirm me in the opinion that when people talk of 'nations craving for the Gospel,' 'stretching out pleading hands for it,' or 'athirst for God,' or 'longing for the living waters,' they are using words which in that connection have no meaning. That there are 'seekers after righteousness' here and there, I do not doubt, but I believe that the one 'craving' of the Far East is for money—that 'unrest' is only in the East a synonym for poverty, and that the spiritual instincts have yet to be created."[1]

[1] *Korea and her Neighbours*, 1898, Mrs Bishop, vol. ii., pp. 157, 161-2.

In the course of an address on "Education in China," in October 1907, Dr Wardlaw Thompson remarked that "the astounding change which had come over China was due, not to any great change of feeling towards the Western nations. China to-day did not want our Christianity. She wanted to learn the secrets of applied science that had made the Western nations strong in the world. But what, if in giving up these secrets, we destroyed the ethic which had influenced China for three thousand years, and in its place did not give an ethic purer than that of Confucius? Give China the Science without Christianity, and woe betide us! We should have raised up a dragon of portentous size and strength, a competitor without scruple or conscience. Thus the responsibility of the Christian Churches at the present time was tremendous."[1]

In the light of the evidence available, it cannot be said that the Christian nations of the West have exhibited a very high ideal to the non-Christian peoples of the East. We have seen them actuated by very little save the desire of temporal advantage in one form or another; while the missionaries were regarded by the countries which sent them as "always a difficulty."[2]

Captain Mahan, however, insists on the policy of the "open door," in dealing with the Chinese question, not only for commerce, but also for the entrance of European thought, and its teachers in the various branches thereof, when they seek admission voluntarily, and not as agents of a foreign Government. Not only is the influence of the thinker superior in true value to the mere gain of commerce, but also there is danger to the European family of nations, in case China should develop an organised strength, whence has been excluded the corrective and elevating element of the higher ideals, which in Europe have made good their controlling influence over mere physical might. . . .

[1] *The Times*, 1st November 1907.
[2] *Ibid.*, 16th February 1906.

Christianity and Christian teaching are just as really factors in the mental and moral equipment of European civilisation, as any of the philosophical or scientific processes that have gone to build up the general result. . . . From the purely political standpoint, Christian thought and teaching have just the same right—no less, if no more—to admission into China, as any other form of European activity, commercial or intellectual. Nor is the fact of offence taken by classes of Chinamen a valid argument for exclusion. The building of a railroad is not a distinctively Christian act, but it offends large numbers of Chinese, who are nevertheless compelled to acquiesce if their Government consent; whereas, the consent of the Chinese Government to missionary effort will compel no Chinaman to listen to a Christian teacher.[1]

It would be well if the "danger to the European family of nations" likely to arise from a system of education, "whence has been excluded the corrective and elevating elements of the higher ideals," were recognised more acutely by the members of the family in the domestic circle. But it cannot be too clearly understood that the Catholic Church has not gone to China merely to avert what is known as the "Yellow Peril," *i.e.*, the overrunning of the nations of the West by those of the Far East; or even as primarily an agent of Western civilisation. She is there in pursuance of the Divine Command to "Go and teach all nations." Education enters into her scheme of operations as an incident, and with it ideas savouring more or less of the West, but, again, only as incidents. In a word, Her object is not to transform the Chinese into French, English, or Italians, but into Christians; and it will be under this heading only that the Christian missionary will one day have to give an account of his stewardship.

It is, possibly, forgetfulness of this fact which

[1] *The Problem of Asia*, 1900, Captain A. T. Mahan, U.S.N., pp. 167-8-9.

prompted such an utterance as the following:—"Furthermore, we must never forget the great contrast of ideals and purposes of Protestant and Catholic missionaries. The Roman Catholic, noble, self-denying, self-effacing, willing martyr as he often is, forms a community, holds his converts to the Church, but does not in any appreciable way touch the art, literature, traditions, or ideals of the people. If his people are good Catholics, they may still plod on in their old ruts. But the Protestant missionary comes to reform society. He brings leaven, he makes upheaval, he influences art, literature, tradition, ideals. He gives a new view and compels change, and change for the better. Consequently, there is to-day a 'young China,' etc., etc."[1]

Whether the Catholic missionary has had any influence or not on the art, literature, etc., of China, we do not propose to discuss. All we have to remark is, that if all China were "good Catholics," even though art, literature, and the rest, remained untouched, the work of the missionary would have been a success, for he would have completed the task whereunto he was put by his divine Master. Consequently, the first and principal capacity in which we shall consider him, is that of apostle of Jesus Christ, and the standard by which we shall invite judgment of the recorded accounts of his doings is that set out by our Lord in His instructions to the missionaries He sent Himself, as recorded by the Evangelists.

Another "salient difference between the methods of the Protestants and the Roman Catholics," says Captain Brinkley—speaking, of course, of a time long past, for missionaries are ubiquitous to-day—"was that the former never attempted to violate the law by penetrating into the interior."[2]

In thus regarding the work of the Catholic missionary in the interior as a "violation of the law," there is an

[1] *America in the East*, 1899, William Elliott Griffis, pp. 84-5.
[2] *China, etc.*, 1904, Captain F. Brinkley, vol. xi., p. 154.

assumption which is in no way justified, viz., that the Law of the Land can override the Law of God. The same God who gave the Ten Commandments gave also the command, "Go ye into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature,"[1] and to the observance of this precept is due the fact that Europe is professedly Christian to-day.

This "violation of the law" seems to have been characteristic of Catholic missionaries from the beginning —not only in China, but elsewhere. "And the high priest asked them saying: Commanding we commanded you that you should not teach in this name: and behold you have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine. . . . But Peter and the Apostles answering, said: We ought to obey God rather than men . . . and we are witnesses of these things. . . . And calling in the Apostles, after they had scourged them, they charged them that they should not speak at all in the name of Jesus. . . . And they ceased not in the temple and from house to house, to teach and preach Christ Jesus."[2]

Here, then, we have a plain instruction on the part of "the authorities," and as plain an assertion by the first Apostles that the said authorities were incompetent to give it. From an apostolic point of view, this method of "going" seems not without its advantages, *e.g.*, "Gutzlaff was himself an earnest and sincere Christian," as Dr Campbell Gibson tells us, "but greatly lacked discretion, and allowed himself to be deceived by professing Christians. Living at Hong-Kong, he employed a number of native evangelists, whom he sent, as he believed, into the various provinces of China, to preach and come back after long absence, and report their experiences. Gutzlaff also sought by the help of these men to circulate the Scriptures, and, when they came back to him for instruction, he often put into their hands considerable quantities of these

[1] Mark xvi. 15.
[2] Acts v. 27-42.

books. Afterwards, however, when the work passed into the hands of Hamberg, he discovered that these so-called catechists were, for the most part, deceivers, who had spent their time in the neighbourhood of Hong-Kong, employed about their own affairs; and manufacturing reports for Gutzlaff, induced some of their friends to visit him along with them, and be passed off as converts from distant regions. The books which were entrusted to them they sold to the printer, and the printer, in turn, sold them once more to Dr Gutzlaff. So Gutzlaff and the printer maintained between them a continuous circulation of the Scriptures."[1]

A further advantage accrued from this Catholic method of "going," viz., they were the first Europeans on the field. Mr Holcombe will explain:—"Another class of objectors to the presence of missionaries in China," he tells us, "deserve more serious consideration. Some among them insist that the missionary is ahead of his time, and hence out of place in China. They argue that modern civilisation and commerce should first be allowed to do their work, and then the missionary might follow and reap his harvest. Just how much might be left for them to glean and to garner after these two forces had done their work, the advocates of this policy have perhaps not seriously considered. With opium as the chief corner-stone upon which the fabric of British commerce in China has been built; with an eager selfish spirit of money-getting ready to pander to every native vice, and to import even grosser vices from abroad, so long as the Chinese can pay the bill; with object-lessons in drunkenness, gambling, and adultery, found thick in every centre of foreign trade in China, the question might well be raised and repeated: what would be left for the missionary to gather, after a non-Christian civilisation and an un-Christian commerce had done their work and reaped their harvest? That

[1] *Mission Problems and Methods in South China*, 1901, J. Campbell Gibson, M.A., D.D., p. 149.

the Christian missionary invariably finds his best field and his greatest success in interior districts, where the presence and habits of some commercial foreigners have not prejudiced the Chinese against everything from abroad is a humiliating fact."[1]

That the Catholic missionaries accepted the command of their Master, to "go" and teach, very literally, as far as China was concerned, is evident from the generous language employed in their regard by Colonel Yule, R.E. "T. T. Cooper . . . was the first, with the exception of the French missionary priests, to penetrate the mountains west of Sze-chuen."[2] "But here it is necessary to interpose a caveat. When we speak of the commencement of modern exploration in China and Tibet, or allude to any modern traveller as being the first to visit this or that secluded locality in those regions, it must be understood that we begin by making a large exception in favour of the missionaries of the Roman Church ; for those regions have to a great extent, and for many years past, been habitually traversed by the devoted labourers who have been extending the cords of their Church in the interior, and on the inland frontier of China. . . . There are, indeed, notable exceptions, of which we shall presently take account ; but apart from these, in hardly any instance has a traveller penetrated to a point where he has not found a member of the Roman Catholic missions to have gone before him. . . . A letter written by an eminent member of these missions was received by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to their no small surprise," from Tibetan territory in 1861. "When Lieutenant Garnier and his party made their rapid and venturesome visit to Ta-Li-Fu, in 1868, their guide and helper was their countryman M. Leguilcher of the same mission, whom they found in his seclusion near the north end of the Lake of Ta-Li-

[1] *China's past and future*, 1904, Hon. Chester Holcombe, p. 90.

[2] *The River of Golden Sand*, 1883 (in Memoir of Captain Gill, R.E.), Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., R.E., p. 25.

Fu. . . . Not only at Ch'ung-Ch'ing and at Ch'êng-Tu did Captain Gill find kindly aid from members of these missions, but at Ta-Chien-Lu, on the acclivity of the great Tibetan plateau, like Mr Cooper before him, he found, as we have mentioned in his memoir, cordial welcome from the venerable Bishop Chauveau. Members of the same body were found by both travellers also at Bat'ang, in the basin of the Kin-sha, and on both occasions, at nine years interval, the Abbé Desgodins was one of their number."[1]

Others appear to have had similar experience. "The first Protestant missionaries to visit Sz'chwan" were Dr Griffith John and Mr Wylie. "They travelled 3000 miles, taking five months to complete, and Dr John records, 'from the day we left Hankow to the day we returned to it, we never saw a foreigner, with the exception of two or three Roman Catholic priests, and never came across a single Protestant convert.'"[2]

At Lanchow [Kansu], "The first and only Protestant missionary who had ever visited Lanchow, found two Roman Catholic places of worship, and one, if not more, resident priests."[3]

In 1877, "Roman Catholics had long been established in this region, but, at the time of Mr M'Carthy's visit, there was not a single Protestant missionary to be found anywhere in Sz'chwan."[4]

At Ta-Li-Fu, again, Mr Cameron, the pioneer Protestant missionary, found that "a Roman Catholic bishop and two priests were carrying on a wide work here. 'When will a Protestant missionary be labouring in these regions?' sorrowfully wrote the pioneer."[5]

[1] *The River of Golden Sand*, pp. 96-7.

[2] *Life in West China*, 1905, Robert J. Davidson and Isaac Mason, p. 153.

[3] *Story of the China Inland Mission*, 1900, M. Geraldine Guinness, vol. ii., p. 190.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

"Up to this time no Protestant had lived here [Kia-ting Fu], but soon afterwards, Mr Gray Owen opened a China Inland Mission station. The Roman Catholic priests, however, have long resided in this city, to reach the thousands of heathen pilgrims who pass through annually on the way to O-mei Shan, the Mecca of Buddhists in Western China."[1]

In 1854, the Abbé Renou obtained a perpetual lease of Bonga, a small valley in the hills adjoining the Lu-kiang on its eastern bank. "The missionaries of Bonga," says Colonel Yule, "cleared a good deal of land, erected buildings, and began to have considerable success in making converts, both among the wilder tribes of the hills and among the Tibetan villagers around them." They were violently ejected in 1858, reinstated in 1862, again ejected in 1865. MM. Desgodins and F. Biet were allowed to carry off their flock into Chinese territory, but their establishment was sacked and burnt 29th September 1865.

MM. Durnand and A. Biet were driven away from Kie-na-tong (in Yünnan), and the former was shot. In January 1867, M. Desgodins managed to send a letter to the British Resident at Katmandu, by an envoy of Maharaja Jung Bahadur, then passing through to the Court of China. The Governor-General of India, replying to the Resident's communication, observed, among other things:—"If the Government may be permitted to offer an opinion to men animated by higher considerations than those of mere personal security or success, these reverend gentlemen would do well to abandon the country in which their sufferings have been so great, and settle in British India, where there are extensive and peaceful tracts, such as Lahoul, Spiti, and Kulu, containing a semi-Tibetan population, likely to receive Christianity with favour." Of four copies of this letter, sent by different routes, three are known to have miscarried, and it is

[1] *The Provinces of Western China*, 1906, Mrs Pruen, C.I.M., p. 60.

doubtful whether the fourth ever reached its destination.[1]

In 1855, the Abbé Desgodins, in order to avoid the great expense and détour of the journey *via* the ports and interior of China, tried to go to his mission *via* British India. Failing to negotiate admission to Tibet by the Sikkim frontier, he and M. Bernard proceeded to the North-west provinces, to attempt an entrance *via* Simla and the Sutlej. The priests were at Agra in 1857, when the mutiny broke out, and spent the summer in the fort there, with the rest of the "sahib-log." Continuing, after the relief, on his journey, M. Desgodins was recalled, and ordered to join his mission by the more usual route. In the hot weather of 1858, he was at Agra, doing duty as Roman Catholic chaplain to the British force at Jhansi. From there he wrote to his parents:—"You will think I am going to become a regular Crœsus when I tell you that the Government of John Bull gives me for my services as military chaplain 800 francs a month, or, as they say here, 320 rupees. . . . However, when you know the state of things in India, and the prices, it is no small matter to make both ends meet; so my dear nephew must not count on a fortune from my savings. Moreover, I hope not to be long in John Bull's service, but soon to be able to join my mission; I shall feel richer there with next to nothing, than here with my 800 francs."[2]

Receiving a fresh summons from Bishop des Mazures, he took his departure—receiving about 1000 rupees for his services with the army. During his journey to the interior of China, he was arrested, imprisoned, and sent back to Canton. Starting again under a new disguise, he finally reached the residence of the Bishop, near the frontier of Tibet, in June 1860, five years after his departure from France.[3]

[1] *Memoir of Captain Gill*, *ubi supra*, pp. 97-8-9.
[2] Quoted by Colonel Yule, from *La Mission du Thibet*, p. 36.
[3] *Memoir of Captain Gill*, *ubi supra*, pp. 113-4.

Colonel Yule, deprecating sarcastic comparison between Catholic and Protestant missions, remarks: "I spent many years in a Roman Catholic country without feeling in the least degree, that attraction to the Roman Church which influences some—indeed I might speak much more strongly. But it is with pleasure and reverence that one contemplates their labour and devotion in fields where these are exercised so much to the side of good, and where there is no provocation to intolerance or to controversy except with the heathen; no room for the display of that spirit which in some regions has led the priests of this Church to take advantage of openings made by others to step in and mar results to the best of their power"[1]—in other words, to insist on the divine commission to the Catholic Church to teach *all* nations, those of the West included!

In 1876, Captain Gill "arrived at Tzŭ-Liŭ-Ching, where no foreigners had been before except French missionaries."[2]

"The Romanist missionaries one sees but little of," wrote Mr Consul Medhurst, in 1872, "although, as compared to the Protestants, their name is legion. Their system is to penetrate deeply into the interior the moment they arrive, to disassociate themselves entirely from the mercantile classes of foreigners, and to work disguised as natives, unobtrusively and unremittingly, at the various stations which have been occupied by them for years; in some cases for centuries. Their devotion is as remarkable as their success has been astonishing, and I am one of those who believe that they have been the means of accomplishing, and still do accomplish a vast amount of good."[3]

"I have the honour to enclose," said Mr Wade to Earl Granville, 24th October 1870, "translation of a proclamation which, according to the Prince of Kung's

[1] *Memoir of Captain Gill, ubi supra*, pp. 122-3.
[2] *The River of Golden Sand*, 1883, Captain William Gill, R.E., p. 98.
[3] *The Foreigner in Far Cathay*, 1872, W. H. Medhurst, p. 33.

promise, already reported to your Lordship, the Chinese Government is about to publish in every province of the Empire. . . . We shall learn from the Romish missionaries to what extent the paper is really circulated."[1]

Of Yünnan-fu, Mr Colquhoun tells us, in 1883:—"I could there, I anticipated, meet with the Roman Catholic missionaries and appeal to them for aid, which I was prepared to do with perfect confidence, although not of their religious persuasion, for I knew something already of the kindly and generous manner in which they ever receive the hapless traveller."[2]

Concerning the province of Hunan, we learn that in 1892, "the only foreigners resident in it are a small garrison of Roman Catholic Fathers who have held the fort a few *li* from the city of Heng-chow-Fu, for between the last two and three hundred years. . . . Of Protestant missionaries, many have visited it, or crossed it, but of persevering workers in it, it has had but three. First in the order of time, myself, Mr Chi, a humble member of the tribe of peripatetic sellers of good books. Then Messrs Wu and Li, two gentlemen connected with the China Inland Mission. They spent many years in hard, self-denying effort to find some place, no matter how insignificant, where they might be allowed to live and attempt settled work, but without success. Mr Li lost heart and left the mission-field; but Mr Wu persevered until he died two years ago in a boat."[3]

Seven years later, Lord Charles Beresford tells us, "the Province of Hunan, though very rich, and the people very well-to-do, is the most anti-foreign in China. Foreigners who penetrate into Hunan, even with the help of the Mandarins, by means of a military escort, do so at the risk of their lives. This I was told by

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1871, p. 222.

[2] *Across Chrysé*, 1883, Archibald R. Colquhoun, vol. i., p. 269.

[3] *The Anti-Foreign Riots in China in* 1891, 1892 (*North China Herald* Office), pp. 267-8.

missionaries, and a gentleman who barely escaped. In the year 1897 an English missionary named Sparham went as far as Hengchau [in Central Hunan, on Siang Kiang River]. There has been a French Mission in this place for over a hundred years, and Mr Sparham saw the cross on their chapel, but he was not allowed to land."[1]

So, the Catholic missionaries in China, as elsewhere, have evidently taken to heart their Master's command to "go" and teach; being content to face the risks of so doing. Nor do they appear to regard these risks with too great apprehension. Indeed Mr Frederic Balfour could say, in 1876, that "one of their weakest points is an undue and quite unreasonable love of persecution . . . they seem to enjoy being maligned, and to positively luxuriate in being beaten."[2] Perhaps they had not entirely forgotten the words of Jesus Christ:—"Blessed are ye when they shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you, untruly, for my sake; Be glad and rejoice, for your reward is very great in heaven. For so they persecuted the prophets that were before you."[3] And thus they may not have been so unreasonable after all!

In any case, the French missionaries of the Catholic Church have had no reason to apply to themselves the taunt of "a heathen Chinaman in Chu-ki a few years ago," recorded for us by Archdeacon Moule:—"If you Englishmen believed your religion, you would have been here long ago."[4]

We may now proceed in order of time. In 1847, Mr Fortune found that the Roman Catholic missionaries "do not restrict themselves to the out-ports of the Empire where foreigners are permitted to trade, but penetrate into the interior, and distribute them-

[1] *The Break-up of China*, 1899, Lord Charles Beresford, p. 171.

[2] *Waifs and Strays from the Far East*, 1876, Frederic Henry Balfour, p. 117.

[3] Matt. v. 11-12.

[4] *Missions of the Church Missionary Society, The China Mission*, 1902, Ven. Arthur E. Moule, B.D., p. 4.

selves all over the country. One of their bishops, an Italian nobleman, resides in the province of Keang-soo, a few miles from Shanghai, where I have frequently met him. He dresses in the costume of the country, and speaks the language with the most perfect fluency. In the place where he lives he is surrounded by his converts, in fact it is a little Christian village, where he is perfectly safe, and I believe he is seldom, if ever, annoyed by the Chinese authorities.

When new Roman Catholic missionaries arrive, they are met by some of their brethren, or the converts, at the port nearest their destination, and secretly conveyed into the interior, the Chinese dress is substituted for the European, their heads are shaved, and in that state they are conducted to the scene of their future labours, where they commence their study of the Chinese language, if they have not learned it before, and in about two years they are able to speak it sufficiently well to enable them to instruct the people. These poor men submit to many privations and dangers for the cause they have espoused, and although I do not approve of the doctrines they teach, I must give them the highest praise for enthusiasm and devotion to their faith. European customs, habits, and luxuries, are all abandoned from the moment they put their feet on the shores of China; parents, friends, home, in many instances are heard of no more; before them lies a land of strangers, cold and unconcerned about the religion for which they have sacrificed everything; and they know that their graves will be far away from the land of their birth and the home of their early years. They seem to have much of the spirit and enthusiasm of the first preachers of the Christian religion, when they were sent out into the world by their divine Master, to 'preach the Gospel to every creature,' and to 'obey God rather than man.'"[1]

[1] *Three Years' Wanderings in the North Provinces of China*, 1847, Robert Fortune, pp. 193-4-5.

In 1862, a Chaplain to the Forces discourses on the Jesuit Mission at Zei-kei-wei, which he says "is about seven miles from Shanghai, and, little as I like the folk, it is, I must admit, most creditable to them . . . you left the place with the impression that the work was well done, little as you might like the doers of it, who were, nevertheless, as civil and obliging as they could be; but one loses some of one's religious animosities living in a heathen land. Our good General even, who has all the instinctive horror of 'holy water' which a strictly religious Scotchman is likely to have, could not refuse the *aspersorium* at the funeral of French officers at Pekin, and to sprinkle the coffins of the departed with his own hand."[1]

An American gentleman who left New York in July 1866, and appears to have been in China in 1867, informs us that "to be benefited by travel, time must be taken for study and reflection. . . A person had better remain at home than go round the world in ninety days. A year is little time enough. Eighteen months would be far more profitable. . . ."[2] He himself was away two years and five months, and has given us the result of his "study and reflection" on the Catholic Church in China. "The difference in ceremony between the religion of the Chinese and that of the Catholic Church is so slight, that the Roman Church finds it easy to make converts. Incense, candles, and lamps are always burning before the idols of the temples, just as before the altars of Rome. The priests appear in yellow robes, recite prayers in concert, or responsively, with such intonations as are heard in St Peter's. Paper flowers adorn the altars, and there is bowing, kneeling, passing from left to the right, from right to left, as in the Catholic

[1] *How we got to Pekin*, 1862, Rev. R. J. L. M'Ghee, Chaplain to the Forces, pp. 41-2.

[2] *Our New Way round the World*, 1883, Charles Carleton Coffin, p. 510.

ceremonial. A Chinaman entering a Protestant church sees no images or pictures, and he comes to the conclusion that the Protestants are altogether godless; but he enters a Jesuit [Catholic] church, and sees a better class of images than those he is accustomed to worship, and pictures more beautiful than those upon the walls of his own temples. Romish priests are more gorgeously arrayed than those who minister at the altar of Buddha, and he inhales sweeter incense than that ascending from joss-sticks. The music of the choir and the deep-toned organ is more pleasing than the rub-a-dub of drums. Is it any wonder that the churches are thronged at morning Mass, or at the hour for vespers? A gentleman at Shanghai, who speaks the language, has travelled through several of the provinces dressed as a Chinaman, and has had excellent opportunities for observation, says:—'Of the missionary effort put forth in China, at least 90 per cent. is by the Catholics.'"

The converts thus made appear to take matters rather seriously, as we learn from the same source:—"They are baptised, required to attend Mass and the Confessional [whether they find gorgeous vestments, incense, and music in the latter we are not told], and contribute to spread the Gospel. They must abjure all their old idols, but may worship Mary and the Saints."[1]

A little later, the same gentleman is at Poyang, on the Yang-tse, where "we stroll through the suburbs, and reach the grounds belonging to the Roman Catholics, who have a church, convent, and other buildings. French priests, wearing the costumes of the Chinese, adapting themselves to the habits and customs of those whom they are seeking to convert, are moving about the premises, superintending workmen who are hammering stone for a new edifice."[2]

Of Peking, in 1869, and the usual exodus to the

[1] *Our New Way round the World*, pp. 358-9.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

hills from June to October, Professor Parker notes that the Catholic missionaries invariably remained in Peking with their flocks, and dressed in Chinese clothes, "pigtail" included.[1]

In 1870, Rev. Alexander Williamson tells us :—"We look upon their work as an element of good in China—[he is speaking of the Catholic missionaries]. With all their paraphernalia, there is reason to believe that they teach the great cardinal truths of our common faith, and not unfrequently I have been rejoiced to find Christ and His atonement set forth as the great basis of a certain hope. . . . There is one great objection to them. They manifest no intelligent zeal for the enlightenment and elevation of the people. . . . As a rule they content themselves with superintending native priests and catechists, and other purely official duties. They never preach or publish any books. They establish schools wherever they can, and take pains through native teachers to instruct the boys in the catechism, and also in a variety of trades; but there is no effort made to diffuse information, enlighten the mind, arouse generous impulses, and turn out well-informed, truth-seeking men and women. They make good artisans, but that is the sum of their results. And the only difference between them and their heathen neighbours is that they are good Mass-hearing shoemakers, or whatever their calling may be"[2]—which was precisely the difference the Catholic Church sent her missionaries to China to effect; and better, possibly, than instruction in English, the natives proficient in which seem, according to Mr Williamson himself, to have been "generally great rogues."[3]

Later on, Father Leng is met with—a native priest who had been trained in Rome. He "knew something

[1] *China past and present*, 1903, Professor Edward H. Parker, p. 93.

[2] *Journeys in North China*, 1870, Rev. Alexander Williamson, B.A., vol. i., pp. 25-6.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

of Latin and Italian, and appeared in other respects intelligent. He declined a Testament which we offered to him, saying that he had a Latin Bible, and a translation of it into Chinese which he had himself prepared."[1] And the Catholic missionaries seem, on occasions, to teach the Gospel too, as Mrs Pruen tells us that, when holding Bible classes she found "some of the women know the Gospel, having heard it from the Roman Catholics."[2]

"At Tz-Coo, on the Lan-Tsan-Kiang or Mekong River," says Mr Cooper, in 1871, "we were warmly greeted by the French Fathers Biet and Dubernard, missionaries of the station. . . . The history of the Tz-Coo mission may, from the date of its establishment, be traced in the blood of numbers of brave and noble-minded missionaries who have fallen by poison or the knife in the cause of their religion. Self-banished to this country without a hope of return, the French missionaries have worked on, and in spite of massacres by the savages, incited by the implacable hatred of the Chinese mandarins, which even now drives them to seek protection in the mountain fastnesses, their devotion has been rewarded by hundreds of genuine converts."[3] During the East Tibetan revolt of 1905-6, we learn that Pères Mussot and Soulié were both arrested and decapitated. Père Dubernard and Père Bourdonnec were also murdered.[4]

At Ta-Li-Fu, in 1876, Captain Gill encounters Père Leguilcher, who had remained in the province during all the war and bloodshed of the Mahometan rebellion, "and his life during this time would form a thrilling narrative of hardship and adventure. Once, he took refuge in a wood, where he built himself a hut of small trees; after a time he discovered they were cinnamon

[1] *Journeys in North China*, p. 307.
[2] *The Provinces of Western China*, 1906, Mrs Pruen (C.I.M.), p. 71.
[3] *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*, 1871, T. T. Cooper, pp. 309, 312. *The Times*, 10th August 1908.

trees, and he used to vary his diet by eating his house. At another time, he had taken refuge in the mountains with fifty or sixty Christian families. After a battle, a band of the defeated party came his way, and would have robbed or murdered them, but he bought the good-will of the chief with an old pistol and ten percussion caps. . . . He came himself to welcome us to Ta-Li-Fu, and his friendliness and geniality were more like those of an old friend, than the first words of a stranger."[1]

"The missionaries," wrote Mr Margary, in 1876, "have a fearful task in attempting to convert the Chinese. The difficulty of the language is an obstacle, and the simplicity of their services is less likely to attract the sensuous Chinese than the magnificent cathedrals and gorgeous ritual of the Roman Catholics. Some of the Roman missionaries deserve success. They dress in the native costume, and travel about the country for years and years, putting up with the Chinese dirt and Chinese food, in a way which to a European must be a sort of martyrdom. We want as missionaries, educated gentlemen, free from narrow-mindedness, and possessing a bearing which will command respect from foreigners. There are some such among our missionaries."[2]

Part of this want, at any rate, appears to have been supplied. "The Catholic missionaries, again," Mr Balfour assures us, in the same year, "are one and all picked men; and, in most instances, gentlemen of culture and breeding. They are highly proficient in science, and their accomplishments are all devoted to the great end they have in view."[3]

"The Franciscans," writes Mr Consul Alabaster, in

[1] *The River of Golden Sand*, 1883, Captain William Gill, R.E., pp. 251-2-3.

[2] *Journey of Augustus Raymond Margary*, 1876, from journals and letters, p. 2.

[3] *Waifs and Strays from the Far East*, 1876, Frederic Henry Balfour, pp. 115-6.

his Report on the Trade of Hankow for 1883, "confine their chief operations to the neighbourhood of the port, where they have now a strong position; the prudence of their directors, their noble charities, avoiding, on the one hand, sources of irritation, and winning them the respect and kindly feeling of both the authorities and people."[1]

Travelling in Yün-nan, in the same year, Mr Colquhoun happens upon Père Terrasse, whom he dismisses with the brief remark, "banished for life from *la belle France*."[2]

During the winter of 1884-5, Professor Parker "visited the late Bishop Garnier, and most of the following Jesuit establishments: (1) Central residence at Siccawei, Chinese college, Chinese news agency, etc.; (2) Chinese orphanage and printing press close by at Tusewei; and the Chinese girls' school, female doctors' school, women's asylum, etc., of Sengmuyu; also, the Chinese hospital at Tungkadu, south-east of Shanghai; the enormous 'Eurasian' girls' schools at Shanghai; the Chinese boys' schools at Hongkew (American Shanghai); and Chinese hospital within the city walls. . . . The work done is enormous, and when I say that there are nearly nine hundred Jesuit stations in Kiang Nan (*i.e.*, Kiang Su and An Hwei), each with a chapel; over three hundred Chinese boys' schools, and four hundred Chinese girls' schools; and that Pagans as well as Christians are educated, I lay stress in my own mind not so much on the ghostly as on the mundane benefits conferred." The Jesuits, "who compel veneration and respect in China by the sheer force of their erudition and self-denial," have "the good sense to discern that the Chinese intellect demands their very best men. Lest it be supposed that I have a bias against my own countrymen, and their 'average' religion, I may just casually add that the China Inland Mission, which, like

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (4), 1884, p. 86.

[2] *Across Chrysé*, 1883, Archibald R. Colquhoun, vol. ii., p. 268.

the other two [*Missions Étrangères*, and the Society of Jesus], works in Chinese clothes, has always impressed me as doing excellent medical and lay work, and as coming nearest among the Protestants to St Paul's standard. Personally, and for the sake of political peace, I should like to see the China Inland Mission and the Jesuits absorb all other rivals, and to have them left in charge of all Chinese Christians as friendly rivals."[1]

"Valuable educational work," wrote Dr Fortescue Fox, in 1884, "is being carried on at Hankow, and other places; and as regards the French hospitals and medical charities, these, so far as the writer's observation went, are well administered and much appreciated."[2]

In 1885, Major Knollys is on board a steamer on his way up the Yang-tze, and:—"I notice a tall Chinese figure seat himself at the table, very humbly, very quietly." This turns out to be Père Gannier, "a Jesuit priest who has devoted himself to a missionary life in China. . . . 'And how long do you expect to remain out?' I ask. '*Toute ma vie, Monsieur*,' with a rather melancholy smile. . . . 'I have left for ever all who are near and dear to me.' 'What a sacrifice,' I involuntarily exclaim. 'Yes,' he assented, 'and yet I feel perfectly happy, and without a vestige of regret. But I admit this is an unnatural kind of happiness, and can only be attained by divine grace.'"[3]

At Zic-a-wei, the Major, after noting the existence of an "observatory of such excellence as to supply foreign shipping with valuable astronomical and nautical data," assists at the Catholic rite of Benediction, concerning which the following reflections suggest themselves:—"Oh! the strange sight, partly solemn, partly burlesque, and, must I add, partly painful, through its

[1] *John Chinaman and a few others*, 1901, E. H. Parker, pp. 197-8, 200.

[2] *Observations in China*, 1884, Fortescue Fox, M.B. (London), p. 39.

[3] *English Life in China*, 1885, Major Henry Knollys, R.A., pp. 121-2.

theatrical insincerity." There is something wrong about the officiating priest, "dignified and devout as he seems. . . . Why—yes—my heart alive! he is a genuine John Chinaman dressed up in all the *simulacra* of Roman Catholic prelacy." The "Chinese choristers, who, though not equal to St Margaret's, Westminster, have been tuned out of their wonted national yelping."[1]

After animadverting upon the Catholic religion as "Buddhism," and the "expediency" system of conversion "pursued by Jesuit missionaries," Major Knollys observes that "it is an act of simple justice to acknowledge the self-sacrifice of those Jesuit [*i.e.*, Catholic] priests who, for ever abandoning their country . . . living and dying amongst their flocks, speaking their language, sharing their vicissitudes, and participating in their interests, they become in time one of themselves, and acquire a hold unattainable by any other means."[2]

In a Report of a Journey in South-west China, Mr Bourne observes that "I was most hospitably received by the missionaries of the *Missions Étrangères* of Paris, as indeed wherever that Society is represented. The worthy Fathers forgot all differences of nationality and religion in their cordial hospitality to a fellow European. The Curé of Tsun-i, Père Bodinier, had only just returned after his expulsion during the Franco-Chinese war. Little did I think that, within three months, the Father would be again a prisoner, with half the population shrieking for his blood, and numbers of his converts murdered before his eyes."[3]

In 1888, Mr James, after giving an outline of the history of the Mission of Manchuria from 1620, mentions that, in 1838, Mgr. Verrolles, the first Bishop of Manchuria, was appointed from the Sechuen Mission, and suffered unheard-of difficulties and privations on his journey across China. "There were no churches,

[1] *English Life in China*, pp. 194-5. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 203.
[3] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1888, p. 77.

schools, or priests' houses, and the only assistance on the spot was a Chinese priest called Hsü. The Bishop lost no time. Without even providing himself with a *pied à terre*, he travelled through the length and breadth of his vast diocese, ministering to the spiritual wants of his flock as best he could."

Commenting on the last letter of Père de la Brunière —who was murdered—and Père Venault's account of a journey in search of him, four years later, Mr James says that "these interesting documents testify, if any testimony were wanting, to the true Christian courage and devotion of these men of God—a devotion shared by their successors at the present day. . . . Père Venault was by birth a nobleman, born in 1806, in the diocese of Poictiers. As a young man, he was a courtier of the Restoration; but he gave up the world for Christ, was ordained priest, and embarked for Manchuria. For forty-two years he laboured there without intermission, devoting his whole private fortune to the work, building churches and orphanages, relieving the sick and needy, and ever refusing to live better or more comfortably than the poorest of his flock. He died on 12th January 1884, the most truly and worthily venerated Apostle of the Faith in Manchuria."[1]

The year 1889 found Mr Pratt on his way to Tibet *via* China. "The devotion of the French missionaries in general to the cause of their religion deserves notice," says he. "No work is too hard for them, no living too poor. They are not deterred by epidemics of sickness, or by threatened massacre. They have simply devoted their lives to the propagation of their religion, and nothing can turn them from their purpose. Much they have done, but much more remains to be done; and it struck me forcibly during my travels, that they, above all others, are the most determined that it *shall* be done."[2]

[1] *The Long White Mountain*, 1888, H. E. M. James, pp. 197-8.

[2] *To the Snows of Tibet through China*, 1892, A. E. Pratt, F.R.G.S., p. 136.

Mrs Howard Vincent, who was in China, as would seem, about 1890, thought that the success of the Catholic missionaries, "in comparison with other sects, may perhaps be attributed to the fact, that their ritual and gaily decorated churches are more attractive, and in accordance with the Buddhist religion and temples ; but it must also be said that the priests go amongst the people, adopt their life, and wear Chinese clothes, including the pigtail. Aided by the nuns, they minister to the temporal wants of the population as well as the spiritual."[1]

The year 1891 is memorable for the anti-foreign riots that took place, to which a series of publications—the "Hunan Tracts," the authorship of which was traced to one Chou-Han, an "expectant" official, by Rev. Dr Griffith John, a Protestant missionary—powerfully contributed. As a specimen of the possibilities of missionary life in China, the following extracts from accounts sent to the *North China Herald*, by Rev. John Walley, of the Methodist Episcopal Mission at Wuhu, and others, may serve its purpose.

May 19, Sunday. Two Chinese Sisters, connected with the Jesuit Mission, are said to have spoken kindly to two children ; and this led to the taking of the Sisters and the children before the authorities.[2]

The French missionary reports that the Sisters were accused of having drugged the children,[3] in order to stupefy them, and take away speech and hearing, that they might steal them and send them to Shanghai.[4] The Chinese official decided that the prisoners should be set at liberty as soon as the use of speech was restored to the children.

In the course of Monday, the children had no patience to obey any longer the orders they had received; they spoke, and thus relieved the Cheh-

[1] *Newfoundland to Cochin China*, 1892, Mrs Howard Vincent, p. 287.
[2] *The Anti-Foreign Riots in China in* 1891, 1892, *North China Herald* Office, p. 11. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 19. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

sien from his engagement.[1] The Sisters were then released.

On Tuesday, the Jesuit mission—which had got along in peace for three years—was visited, and the graves violated. Bodies, too much decomposed to be recognised, were declared to be Chinamen cut up by foreigners. Whereupon the Jesuit Mission was burned.[2]

On Wednesday, the proceedings were terminated by the arrival of three Chinese men-of-war, which "fired a broadside or two which, with the aid of a good shower of rain, quickly scattered the people."[3]

A placard has been posted up in Wuhu since the riot to this effect:—"Only the Roman Catholic church is to be destroyed, but do not touch the Customs. If you injure the Customs, you will not escape the arm of the law. Know and remember this."[4]

Says Rev. Mr Walley:—"True, we have plenty of soldiers sent from different parts to protect us, but this is not reassuring, when we know that part of the prisoners taken with booty in their hands during the riot were these same protectors with their uniform turned inside out."[5]

The thoroughness and efficiency with which the rioters at I-Chang did their work has already been mentioned. They destroyed everything of a foreign origin they could lay their hands on, as Mr Consul Everard has told us. To descend from the terrible to the ridiculous, we now learn that in the riots at I-Chang, "the mandarins seemed to receive some rough usage, the Chentai's hat being knocked off, an indignity of which the natives speak with bated breath, and evidently consider of more gravity than anything else which has occurred."[6]

At Wu-Chang, on 13th September, the Governor

[1] *Anti-Foreign Riots*, pp. 19, 20.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 19.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-4.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

issued a proclamation stating that, by Imperial direction, anyone inciting to violence would instantly be put to death, and offering a reward of 100 taels for information on the subject. "This invocation of the magic of the Imperial name, and the offer of a reward so large, larger than an individual share of any possible loot, ought to do a good deal towards the maintenance of order."[1]

Perhaps, also, it is in no way surprising to learn that "the poor villagers dreaded a visit from the Imperial troops even more than from the rebels."[2]

Coming to the year 1895, Mr Norman testifies to the Catholic missionary, as he heard of him. "The Roman Catholic missionary goes to China once for all; he adopts native dress, lives on native food, inhabits a native house, supports himself on the most meagre allowance from home, and is an example of the characteristics which are as essential to the Eastern idea of priesthood as to the Western—poverty, chastity, and obedience. To borrow the words of Sir W. Hunter, 'He has cut himself off from the world by a solemn act.' More than that, he meets native superstitions half-way, by amalgamating the worship of ancestors, which is a vital part of every Chinaman's belief, to the worship of the Saints; and by teaching his native converts a prayer for the Emperor of China, which concludes with the petition, *de Le conserver jusqu'à une heureuse vieillesse, en prolongeant la prosperité de Son Empire, afin que nous puissions plûtard jouir* avec Lui *de la paix éternelle.* He is also subject to one authority, and preaches and practises one doctrine. The two chief grounds of reproach against him are, first, that in China, as elsewhere, he is nearly always a political agent; and second, that many a dangerous suspicion has been aroused by his habit of paying small sums for dying children, for the purpose of baptising them *in articulo mortis.* To anyone who has read my chapter on Manila, I need not explain

[1] *Anti-Foreign Riots*, p. 55. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

that I am not prejudiced in favour of Roman Catholic propaganda; yet I should not be honest if I did not add that, for the personal character and the work of many a Roman Catholic missionary, whom I have met in China, I have conceived a profound respect."[1]

In the same year, 1895, there were riots in Sz'Ch'wan. We have already seen in what a workmanlike manner they were conducted in Chentu—the provincial capital. We further learn from Mrs Archibald Little, who was there:—"The Roman Catholic Bishop, the last to escape to the Yamen, had been sufficiently roughly handled by the mob, as his attire and bearing showed. He had stayed at his post *to the very last.* It was clear it was to the very last, if he were to escape at all. . . . The Roman Catholics seem to have had over forty stations destroyed in this province. Yet not a Frenchman has left the West. '*Pas un! Ni pour cause de maladies, ni pour affaires particulières, ni pour aller à Peking! Pas un seul,*' says the Procureur somewhat proudly. Four, however, among them one a Count at home in France, had been driven away from their stations in those distant parts beyond the Chienchang Valley, and so effectively that, for forty days they had to fly over mountain passes and by little trodden paths till they found a refuge at last only across the border, in the capital of Yünnan, Yünnanfu . . . other priests have been taking refuge in Chinese huts, in yamens, moving from place to place, but not one has left his post, but for these four driven out of the province."[2]

The same was the case in other parts. The late Mrs Bishop "wrote home after the conclusion of the operations in Manchuria, and of the war between China and Japan:—'The Roman Catholic men and women all remained at their posts at Mukden and

[1] *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, 1895, Henry Norman, pp. 304-5.

[2] *The Land of the Blue Gown*, 1902, Mrs Archibald Little, pp. 246-7-8.

elsewhere.' Mrs Bishop was too large-minded and sincere to deny or blink the fact that . . . in China, at all events, most of them despised comfort and espoused poverty for Christ's sake."[1]

The year of the Boxer Rising gives a further example of the same. At Hsiao Wei-Si in far-Western Yünnan, Mr Jack meets "the Abbé Tintet, the French missionary to Tibet. . . . When he heard such news as we could give him, including the order of the French Consul that all French subjects were to leave Yünnan, and we invited him to accompany us, he replied with a *non possumus*, on the double ground, that he could not leave his flock unprotected, and that he could not move in any case without orders from the Bishop."[2]

1897 affords us the benefit of Mr Arnot Reid's reflections, made on his journey from Peking to St Petersburg. "The Roman Catholic missions of China are, I think, more successful, or at all events, they are less unsuccessful, than are the Protestant missions. The Roman Catholic priest lives among and for the people, eats the same food and suffers the same hardships. The Protestant missionary lives an alien life, outside the spirit of Chinese heart and feeling. I hope it is clearly understood that I am not blaming the Protestant missionary for that . . . there remains the fact that the methods of the two Churches are entirely different. The reason, of course, is in the different circumstances of a celibate and a non-celibate clergy. The married Protestant missionary, with a wife and children, requires a cottage and a pony carriage, or its equivalent. He does not require, as the gossip of the treaty ports suggests, a luxurious villa and a well-appointed carriage; he requires and asks nothing that is not necessary for the healthy maintenance of his

[1] *The Life of Isabella Bird* (*Mrs Bishop*), 1906, Anna M. Stoddart, p. 302.

[2] *The Back Blocks of China*, 1904, R. Logan Jack, F.G.S., Hon. LL.D. (Glasg.), p. 172.

family life. But yet, to the Chinaman, to the coolie whose earnings are not more than a shilling a week, the difference in the attitude of the two Churches is great. I do not see how the Protestant system can be changed, but I do see that, if China is ever to be Christianised, it is more likely to be Christianised by the Roman Catholic than by the Protestant method."[1]

In his account of the siege of the Legations in Peking, in 1900, Rev. Dr Martin remarks:—"Often did I converse with the Catholic missionaries of France, and I felt irresistibly drawn to them by their spirituality and devotion."[2]

During the same year—so we learn from the *Shanghai Mercury*—a Catholic mission-station between Tientsin and Peking was besieged by the Boxers, and held by the "Father in charge" and his converts. A peremptory message was sent to the priest that "the Catholics must all surrender or be utterly exterminated. What could the poor fellow do? He said he would surrender, provided the natives who were with him were allowed to scatter among the villages. The Chinese agreed to this, and soon the foreign priest found himself in custody in General Ma's camp. He had not been there long before the Allied Forces attacked the Chinese fortified camp. In the confusion that ensued, he, with his attendants, managed to get into the foreign lines without being shot, and in a short time reached Tientsin, where he now is."[3]

"I think," said Mgr. Favier to Mrs Archibald Little, "12,000 Christians have lost their lives [his Vicariate was Pe Tche-li, in which is situated Peking]—three of our European priests, four Chinese, and many of our Chinese Sisters. One priest hung on a crucifix, nailed, for three days before he died."[4]

[1] *Peking to Petersburg*, 1897, Arnot Reid, pp. 78-9.
[2] *The Siege in Pekin*, 1900, W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D., p. 103.
[3] *The Boxer Rising*, 1900 (reprinted from the *Shanghai Mercury*), p. 86.
[4] *Round about my Peking Garden*, 1905, Mrs Archibald Little, p. 11.

Elsewhere, Dr Edwards relates the manner of the death of Mgr. Hamer, Vicar-Apostolic of South-western Mongolia, as given by Père Back. "Mgr. Hamer was taken by the soldiers to To To Ch'eng, where the Mandarin Li delivered him over to the tender mercies of his soldiers. The latter took him for three days through the streets of To To, everybody being at liberty to torture him. All his hair was pulled out, and his nose, fingers, and ears cut off. After this they wrapped him in stuff soaked in oil, and hanging him head downwards, set fire to his feet. His heart was eaten by two beggars."[1]

In 1904, Lady Susan Townley, on an expedition up the Yang-tze Kiang, tells us that "Kwei-chow-fu has, up to the present, enjoyed the reputation of being a thoroughly anti-foreign place; and Mrs Bishop, the traveller, was stoned there, not ten years ago. . . . The only missionary in the place is an old Roman Catholic priest belonging to the *Missions Étrangères de Paris*. Père Roger has been over thirty years in China. . . . The town itself is much like any other Chinese town, with its narrow, foul-smelling, crowded streets, and ruined temples. Père Roger's little house and church were scrupulously clean, but very poor. He told us that he had over thirty Catholic families, some of them had been Christians for over two hundred years. He himself was dressed like a Chinaman, and lived on Chinese fare; he speaks Chinese perfectly. . . . He lives absolutely alone in their midst, with no European intercourse whatever, beyond the occasional visits of fellow-missionaries, or travellers like ourselves."[2]

"I also paid a visit to Père Vaillemot, who has been fifteen years in Mukden," writes Sir Hubert Jerningham in 1907, "and speaks Chinese infinitely better than

[1] *Fire and Sword in Shansi*, 1903, E. H. Edwards, M.B., C.M., pp. 106-7.

[2] *My Chinese Note Book*, 1904, Lady Susan Townley, pp. 231-2.

French, his native tongue. He belongs to that great missionary institution in the *Rue du Bac*, in Paris [*Missions Étrangères*], from which so many young priests have gone forth voluntarily to torture and martyrdom, in the cause of religion, without any expectation of ever returning to their native land. What this expatriation means to a Frenchman is enough to indicate the immensity of the sacrifice at the start of life, and is the key-note of these admirable men's whole existence." The good Father's church and everything had been destroyed, and he was hoping that *le bon Dieu* would send him the means of starting again his work for *les pauvres petits Chinois*.[1]

It only remains to notice the Chinese Catholic priests. In 1871, M. de Hübner—himself a Catholic—tells us that "the Chinese priests all belong to families converted for the last two or three centuries. No recent convert or neophyte is admitted to the priesthood except with a special dispensation, which is rarely asked for, and still more rarely granted. The native priests are firm believers, studious, and zealous; but they are not energetic; they are timid and incapable of direction. . . . With regard to morals they leave nothing to be desired. They have never yet been promoted to the higher grades of the hierarchy. . . .

The pioneers of Christianity are the catechumens. Going from village to village, they awaken curiosity, answer all the questions which may be addressed to them, and often leave behind them the seeds of conversion. Then the native priests come; and it is only after the ground has been duly prepared that the European missionaries arrive to complete the work by opening a mission."[2]

[1] *From West to East*, 1907, Sir Hubert Jerningham, K.C.M.G., p. 227.

[2] *A Ramble round the World*, 1874, M. le Baron de Hübner, vol. ii., pp. 423-4.

CHAPTER II

THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARY AT HOME

"Dr Ellinwood," we are told, "once visited a missionary whose field of labour was amid equatorial heats, and whose miserable abode was directly under the tiled roof of a warehouse. His income was near the starvation point. The scant dress of wife and child revealed numerous boils, of which they had had ninety, the result in part of defective nutrition and poverty of blood. He notes the incident 'for the benefit of those well-to-do Christians who think that self-immolation is the duty of the foreign missionary.'"[1] Hence, the Hon. Secretary to the Canterbury Board of Missions does not "ask for ascetics, or celibates under vows, or adopters of the native dress, or turners of the formal prayer-wheel, or the daily celebrant," and "there was no necessity for hair-shirts, or flagellations, for long ceremonies or retreats."[2]

Had these gentlemen lived some centuries earlier, they might have visited another Missionary who, not only lacked the "tiled roof of a warehouse," but even "where to lay his head."[3] His income was below "the starvation point," as the incident of His disciples in the corn-field proved[4]—so much so, indeed, that a miracle was necessary to satisfy the demands of the tax-collector;[5] while His wardrobe was so "scanty," that

[1] *Ex Oriente*, 1891, Edward P. Thwing, M.D., Ph.D., p. 103.
[2] *The Gospel Message*, 1896, Robert Needham Cust, LL.D., pp. 63-4.
[3] Matt. viii. 20. [4] Matt. xii. 1. [5] Matt. xvii. 26.

it was left to the charity of a comparative stranger to provide Him with a winding-sheet.[1]

Nor does He seem to have disdained "retreats," for He prefaced His missionary career by making one of forty days.[2]

The precursor of that Missionary seems to have made an even more protracted retreat—"was in the deserts until the day of his manifestation to Israel."[3] His wardrobe was also "scanty":—"The same John had his garment of camel's hair"[4]—one of those very hair-shirts for which the modern missionary has no use!—"and a leathern girdle about his loins: and his meat was locusts and wild honey"—a regimen suggestive of "defective nutrition." And we may note the blessing on the devotion of which such asceticism was but the outward manifestation:—"Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the country about Jordan" went to hear him, and "were baptised by him in the Jordan confessing their sins."[5]

Dr Lawrence thinks "it would be well if every large mission should follow the example of the Congregational Mission in North China, and publish explicit suggestions as to what a family should bring."[6] Our Lord anticipated the Congregational Mission, and though He does not appear to have contemplated a missionary with a family, nevertheless gave "explicit suggestions" as to the outfit of the missionary himself:—"Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses: nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff; for the workman is worthy of his meat."[7]

The Apostles—the pioneer Catholic missionaries—evidently bore their Master's instructions in mind. "Silver and gold I have none," answered one, when

[1] Matt. xxvii. 59. [2] Matt. iv. 2. [3] Luke i. 80.
[4] Matt. iii. 4. [5] Matt. iii. 5-6.
[6] *Modern Missions in the East*, 1895, Edward A. Lawrence, D.D., p. 139. [7] Matt. x. 9-10.

asked for alms.[1] Another, seemingly, possessed only one cloak;[2] and "chastised his body" to "bring it into subjection"[3]—possibly by means of "flagellations," which in our own day are deemed superfluous—and from the comprehensive account of his sufferings seems to have thought that "self-immolation" was a distinct part of a missionary's duty, including as it did, watchings, hunger, nakedness, and many fastings.[4]

The Gentiles of our time would appear to share the same opinion, and to look for the same characteristics in a Christian teacher as did their predecessors. And sometimes they find them:—"It is but just to say," remarks the late Mrs Bishop, "that the Chinese appreciate the celibacy, poverty, and asceticism of the Roman clergy. Every religious teacher, with one notable exception, who has made his mark in the East has been an ascetic, and when Orientals begin to seek after righteousness, rigid self-mortification is the method by which they hope to attain it."[5]

Commencing, then, at the year 1869, Professor Parker tells us that the Catholic missionaries lived a life of complete seclusion. "Many of them being regulars, or following analogous rules, it is sufficient to say that their mode of life is just what it would be in Europe, except that they wear Chinese clothes and 'pigtails'"[6] At Hankow, he found them living "a humble penurious life, feeding chiefly on rice and cabbage, or skinny chickens." The Professor visited the Italian priest in charge of the Franciscan Mission —in his own words—"I used to go and sit with him too. He wore a shabby old cassock from one year's end to the other; lived on about £1 a month; took his cigar and glass of wine, or any other good things

[1] Acts iii. 6. [2] 2 Tim. iv. 13. [3] 1 Cor. ix. 27. [4] 2 Cor. xi. 24-7.

[5] *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 1899, Mrs J. F. Bishop, F.R.G.S., p. 102.

[6] *China past and present*, 1903, Professor Edward H. Parker, p. 95.

(when he could get them for nothing), and never spent a cent on himself if he could not: the French consul used to invite all Catholic missionaries to breakfast on Sundays. All this self-denial is very proper and nice. But surely it does not follow that, because one man is bound by the rules of his order to be an ascetic and a celibate, others who start out on quite a different basis are to be blamed for not doing the same?"[1] At Kewkiang, "I used often to go and talk with the old bishop. He used to smoke his cheap Chinese tobacco out of a Chinese copper pipe: the interior arrangements of the 'palace' were of the simplest; almost as severe as those of a Jesuit establishment."[2]

At Canton, he found the priests of the *Missions Étrangères* "live as frugally and simply as elsewhere. As a rule devote their whole lives to the work and never go home . . . are apt to keep aloof from Europeans, because the cathedral lies at some distance from the foreign concession, but they give their consul plenty of work."[3]

In 1871, Mr Cooper informs us that "the pay of a missionary varies from 100 taels per mensem—the salary of a bishop—to 20 taels, the scanty stipend of the simple fathers. [A tael varies from 2s. 5d. to 3s. 3d. in value.] . . . Out of this they provide everything . . . and it is only when their self-denying and abstemious mode of life is witnessed, that an adequate idea can be formed of real mission work."[4]

"The inherent dangers of the apostolate in China are well known. The miserable existence of the sisters and missionaries is less so. 'We left Europe ten years ago,' said one missionary to me [Baron de Hübner—a Catholic]. 'Counting the six sisters, we were twenty-four in all. With the exception of four, including myself, all the rest have died. The diplomats

[1] *China past and present*, pp. 97-8.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 99 and 101.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 101.
[4] *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*, 1871, T. T. Cooper, pp. 124-5.

and consuls,' he continued, 'bear their residence in China well enough. The great mortality among the missionaries cannot, therefore, be attributed to the climate. It is to be explained by the very hard lives we are compelled to lead, especially from the Chinese food, the want of medical help, and the privations of every kind to which we are necessarily exposed.'"[1]

At Pai-tzŭ Pu, Mr Margary tells us, in 1876, "a Roman priest came up to me suddenly as I was seated at one of the public tables having tiffin, and commencing in Chinese continued in French, that he was travelling to the capital, and was delighted to meet a foreigner. We sat down together—but my reverend friend had so poor a larder, that I was obliged to supplement his bit of cold fowl, with half my beef-steak, and he was so delighted to see bread, that before he had finished his repast, I had no more to offer him."[2]

In the same year, Captain Gill arrived at Ch'ung Ch'ing where, besides missionaries, probably not more than twenty or thirty foreigners had ever been. He received a visit from Mgr. Desflêches, who "told us about his flock, his converts, and his trials, of which he made very light, dreadful though they had been. He praised the English and the English Government, and declared that our country was the only one in which there was any real religious liberty. He naturally expressed great pleasure that war had not broken out between China and England—'for,' he said, 'if it had, we should all have been massacred here.'"[3]

At Ta-Chien-Lu, the boundary of China, Mgr. Chauveau is fallen in with, "this noble-hearted missionary," as the Captain describes him, "never at a loss

[1] *A Ramble round the World*, 1874, M. le Baron de Hübner, vol. ii., p. 425.

[2] *Journey of Augustus Raymond Margary*, 1876, from journals and letters, p. 229.

[3] *The River of Golden Sand*, 1883, Captain William Gill, R.E., pp. 83-4.

for some fresh method of obliging us." He had lived thirty-two years in China, during which, "time had not dimmed his interest in European affairs, nor his affection for his country. His courtly manners, those of a nobleman of the old French *régime*, were in striking contrast to the wildness of his surroundings, and would have made me forget that I was on the borders of an almost barbarous country, if his enthusiasm for the propagation of the faith had not kept it constantly in view. . . . A few short months elapsed, and he went to his rest, bitterly mourned by his faithful little flock in those far-away regions, and deeply regretted by all who knew the nobility and grandeur of his nature."[1]

Also in the same year Mr Frederic Balfour treats of the Catholic missionary, as he had seen him, and who he says, "has renounced all—home, country, friends, fortune, nay, even his own identity—for ever, to be Christ to the perishing and poor. His faith has led him to follow his Master's commandment to the full, and to give up *all* for Him."[2]

In Sz'ch'wan—as would seem about 1880—Professor Parker found French priests of the *Missions Étrangères* in every large town, and, "as I travelled thousands of miles, I made the acquaintance of many of them. In every single case they lived on a pittance varying (at present gold rates) from £2 to £3 a month per man. When I say that their houses were always neat, I speak comparatively and from a Chinese point of view; in no case was the 'luxury' greater than that of a Jesuit seminary in England; in some cases the missionary occupied a purely Chinese house; mud floor, straw mat for bed, paper windows, no 'comforts' of any description. . . . The Vicar-General lived just as simply as the other priests. . . . They never dared any of them go out-of-doors except in closed sedan chairs: the people were

[1] *The River of Golden Sand*, 1883, pp. 179, 185-6.

[2] *Waifs and Strays from the Far East*, 1876, Frederic Henry Balfour, p. 115.

most hostile." The Professor seems to have been the first European who ever walked the streets regularly in European costume; other lay Europeans had, as a rule, thought it more prudent to remain indoors.[1]

Travelling in Manchuria, during 1886, Captain (now Sir Francis) Younghusband makes the acquaintance of Père Raguit and Père Card, at Pa-yen-su-su. "We recognised immediately that we were not only with *good* but with *real* men. What they possessed was no weak sentimentality or flashy enthusiasm, but solid human worth. Far away from their friends, from all civilisation, they lived, and worked, and died; two indeed out of the three we met in those parts have died since we left. When they left France, they left it for good; they had no hope of return; they went out for their whole lives." Their abode, "a plain little house almost bare inside, and with stiff simple furniture . . . it might be supposed that these missionaries would be dull, stern, perhaps morbid men. But they were precisely the contrary. They had a fund of simple joviality, and were hearty, and full of spirits. They spoke now and then with a sigh of *la belle France*, but they were evidently thoroughly happy in their lives and devoted to their work."[2]

Also in Manchuria, Mr James could say, in 1888:— "The example set by the priests is very fine. They live lives of the greatest austerity and self-denial—their rooms cold and bare of comforts as the entrance-hall of a work-house, and their food simple and plain. They never dream of taking leave, and enjoying themselves amongst their friends at home for a year. They are exiles for the whole of their lives. They have indeed forsaken houses, and brethren and sisters, and father and mother, and lands for Jesus' name's sake, but they rely on His promise that they shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life."[3]

[1] *China past and present*, pp. 103-4.

[2] *Among the Celestials*, 1898, Captain Francis Younghusband, C.I.E., pp. 38-9, 40. [3] *The Long White Mountain*, 1888, H. E. M. James, p. 203.

"I recollect one French priest in a most remote village," wrote Mrs Archibald Little in 1899, "showing me—half excusing himself, half proudly—his one great luxury, a little window with glass panes he had put in near his writing desk, so as to see to read and write till later in the evening. There was barely a chair of any kind to sit on in his large barrack-like room. He showed me a set of photographs of his native village in France, but I noticed he never dared glance at it himself while we were there. We were the first Europeans to visit the place during the three years he had been there, with the exception of an old priest, who once a year came three days' journey across the mountains to see how he was going on."[1]

A year or so later, Mr Rockhill encounters Mgr. Félix Biet at Ta-chien-lu, who "has been in Tibet for twenty-six years, and though still a comparatively young man, is completely broken down by the hardships he has had to endure."[2]

At Ta-tien-chih, Mr Pratt found Père Joseph Martin, who "had not seen a European since Baber, eleven years ago . . . has lived in the neighbourhood for many years, and has no intention of ever returning to Europe . . . has made many converts and is much beloved by them."[3]

Later on, Père Jeridot is discovered, "who seemed from his emaciated appearance to have led a life of great privation," and with the exception of the Fathers, had not seen a European for thirteen years: while Mgr. Biet told him—Mr Pratt—of a missionary "near the frontier of Yünnan who had seen no European, but a priest at long intervals, for thirty years."[4]

"All the Roman Catholic missionaries," says Mr Pratt, "had a very hard life, and I think that people

[1] *Intimate China*, 1899, Mrs Archibald Little, pp. 162-3.

[2] *The Land of the Lamas*, 1891, William Woodville Rockhill, p. 272.

[3] *To the Snows of Tibet through China*, 1892, A. E. Pratt, F.R.G.S., pp. 113-4.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

at home have very little idea of the sacrifices they make for the sake of their religion. Beyond having cleaner, and, perhaps, in a trifling way, better houses than the natives, there is no difference in their mode of life. They seldom see civilised people, and yet have done much to civilise the almost savage races among whom they dwell. Their food is coarse and often scanty, and their lives are frequently in danger."[1]

"Recognition should be given," wrote Colonel (afterwards Sir Howard) Vincent, "to the general respect entertained by foreigners of opposing Christian creeds, for the lifelong devotion to their task, on the slenderest stipend, of the Roman priesthood. Their success as to numbers is also said to be much aided by their care of the mundane interests of the converted who, loath to continue subscribing to family memorial halls for communication with ancestors, etc., . . . are shunned by their kindred, and often find employment, even in foreign families, as impossible as a public office."[2]

And Mrs Howard Vincent reminds us once more that "these priests, when they leave France, come out for life, and receive only 100 taels or £20 a year."[3]

Concerning Mongolia:—"I reached Hsin-ch'eng at 7.30 P.M.," Mr Rockhill relates, "and got a warm reception from Father van Belle, and a Friday's meal —cold tea, dry bread and lard, used in place of butter. This is the usual style of living among Catholic missionaries."[4]

"Ichang," said the late Mrs Bishop, "is the headquarters of a large Roman mission. Its head, Bishop Benjamin, with whom I had the pleasure of spending one afternoon, has been sixteen years in his present position without even a visit to Shanghai. His large,

[1] *To the Snows of Tibet through China*, 1892, pp. 135-6.

[2] *Newfoundland to Cochin China*, 1892, in appendix, Col. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P., p. 367.

[3] *Ibid.*, Mrs Howard Vincent, p. 287.

[4] *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet*, 1894, W. W. Rockhill, p. 61.

lofty room, though furnished with all absolute necessaries, is bare and severe, and contains nothing on which the eye can pleasurably rest. The Bishop is a most genial elderly man, with much charm of manner. . . . As we walked down the lanes to the orphanage, numbers of Chinese children, unmistakably delighted to see him, ran up to him, kissing his hands, and struggling for positions in which they could hold on to his robe. . . . A Belgian priest, who called on me . . . depicted in very vivid language the sufferings of educated men from the deprivations of their lives, and especially from the absolute solitude in which he and others are placed, living in one room of low class Chinese houses. He was obviously a man of much culture and refinement, and felt the whole life acutely—the dark and filthy houses, the dirty food, the unceasing noisy talk in a foreign tongue, the lack of real privacy and quiet, the ingratitude of the Chinese, and, more than all, his own failure to love them. This, though my first, was not my last glimpse of the anguish of loneliness which these Roman missionaries endure. 'Madness would be the certain result,' my visitor said, 'but for the sustaining power of God, and the certainty that one is doing His work.'"

"Wherever I have met with Roman missionaries, I have found them living either like Bishop Benjamin and Bishop Meitel of Seoul, and like the Sisters in Seoul, Peking, Ichang, and elsewhere, in bare, white-washed rooms, with just enough tables and wooden chairs for use, or in the dirt, noise, and innumerable discomforts of native houses of the lower class, personally attending on the sick, and in China, Chinese in life, dress, style and ways, rarely speaking their own language, knowing the ins and outs of the districts in which they live, their peculiarities of trade, and their political and social condition. Lonely men, having broken with friends and all home ties for the furtherance of Christianity, they live lives of isolation and self-sacrifice, forget all but the people by whom they

are surrounded, identify themselves with their interests, and have no other expectation but that of living and dying among them."[1]

The question may be asked here, what are the conditions of life in a Chinese town? Fortunately our authorities are prepared for it, and have provided us with abundant information as to the state of things at the time of their visit.

We will commence with 1861, Dr Lockhart:— "Public scavengers of any kind are unknown. Drains no better than a continuous cesspool, where filth of all varieties is allowed to accumulate and pollute the air. In truth, were it not that the high market value of ordure of all kinds leads to the employment of a large number of men and boats in its deportation to the country for agricultural purposes, the health of the city [Shanghai—native city] would be seriously deteriorated."[2]

1884.—Report of a Journey through Central Sz'ch'wan, in June and July, by Mr Hosie:—"Now that I am on the subject of Chinese inns, I cannot do better than give a Chinaman's own ideas on the point. It is the custom of those who can write to scribble verses on the walls of their rooms. These verses are often amusing, and they frequently contain plays on characters. Others, again, are written in praise of the inn; but I found one to-day, in the room where I breakfasted, so much in accordance with my own experience, that I cannot refrain from reproducing it in English garb. It should be mentioned that the inn was decidedly superior to the average. The verse runs thus:—

> Within this room you'll find the rats, At least a goodly score,
> Three catties[3] each they're bound to weigh, Or e'en a little more,
> At night you'll feel a myriad bugs, That stink and crawl and bite;
> If doubtful of the truth of this, Get up and strike a light.

[1] *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 1899, Mrs J. F. Bishop, F.R.G.S., pp. 99-102.

[2] *The Medical Missionary in China*, 1861, Wm. Lockhart, F.R.C.S., F.R.G.S., p. 37.

[3] A catty, about 1⅓ lbs., English.

There may be a little exaggeration of weights and numbers, but the lines are a faithful attempt to portray a part of the truth. Had the author given us eight more lines on mosquitos and odours, the picture would have been tolerably complete."[1]

1888.—Mr James, Manchuria :—"Since 1875, reinforcements have arrived in large numbers, but a large proportion [of the missionaries] have perished from typhoid fever, caused no doubt by the filth of the Chinese cities in which their work is carried on."[2]

1895.—Mr Norman on Peking, as he saw it :—"Above all other characteristics of Peking, one thing stands out in horrible prominence. Not to mention it would be wilfully to omit the most striking feature of the place. I mean its filth. It is the most horribly and indescribably filthy place that can be imagined. Indeed imagination must fall far short of the fact. Some of the daily sights in Peking could hardly be more than hinted at by one man to another in the disinfecting atmosphere of a smoking-room. There is no sewer or cesspool, public or private but the street; the dog, the pig, and the fowl —in a sickening succession—are the scavengers; every now and then you pass a man who goes along tossing the most loathsome of the refuse into an open work-basket on his back; the smells are simply awful; the city is one colossal and uncleansed *cloaca*."[3] Mgr. Favier was once asked how a population could resist cholera while living in Peking :—"Cholera," exclaimed the Vicar-Apostolic, "it could never enter. It would be asphyxiated at the gate!"[4]

By all reports, matters have improved of late years —not perhaps before improvement was needed. Our concern, however, is with the unsavoury past, in which the Catholic missionary has laboured for centuries.

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (2), 1885, p. 10.
[2] *The Long White Mountain*, 1888, H. E. M. James, p. 199.
[3] *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, 1895, Henry Norman, pp. 209-10.
[4] *The Englishman in China*, 1900, Alexander Michie, vol. ii., p. 144.

1899.—Mrs Bishop:—"The mannerless, brutal, coarse, insolent, conceited, cowardly roughs of the Chinese towns, ignorant beyond all description, live in a state of filth which is indescribable and incredible, in an inconceivable beastliness of dirt, among odours which no existing words can describe. . . . I wondered daily more at the goodness of people who are missionaries to the Chinese in the interior cities, not at their coming out for the first time, but at their *coming back, knowing what they come to.* The village people are quite different, and doubtless have attractive qualities; and it must be admitted that Christianity does produce an external refinement among those who receive it, which is very noticeable."[1]

1900.—Hankow, Miss Scidmore:—"A ride through the native city of 800,000 inhabitants is an experience no one would willingly repeat. While Shanghai, Canton, and Amoy run rivalry, and imperial Peking has some sloughs and slums and smells unparalleled, Hankow may be safely entered against the field."[2]

In the same year, Mr Savage-Landor had a trifling experience in Shantung. He put up at an inn in Fan-shan-pu, where the smell was so appalling that he remonstrated with the inn-keeper, who replied that something must be wrong with his guest's nose, as he could not smell anything. During the night Mr Savage-Landor proceeded to investigate, and found that the nuisance came from a room said to be "occupied by three Chinese." So it was, but they were dead; and had been so for eight days. Mine host explained that they had "only" died of small-pox, and he was waiting an order from the absent mandarin to have them removed.[3] In 1904, Mr Consul-General Hosie reported on the province of Sz'Chwan:—

[1] *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, p. 250.

[2] *China, the Long-lived Empire*, 1900, Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore, p. 372.

[3] *China and the Allies*, 1901, A. Henry Savage-Landor, vol. i., p. 320.

"Ch'êngtu, being a large city, supplies large quantities of valuable manure to its immediate surroundings, and, although the buckets are covered, the stench on the streets, especially in the neighbourhood of the four gates, is absolutely disgusting."[1]

It would thus appear that, when China starts County Councils, there will be sundry matters requiring attention; so we may close this unsavoury digression on the incidentals of missionary life in China, and continue.

"The only Jesuit missionary I ever met inland," says Professor Parker, "was discovered on a river steamer, travelling 'deck' amongst the Chinese passengers, dressed in native attire of course, feeding on rice and pork, and reading his Breviary by the light of a faint oil lamp, amidst the fumes of tobacco and opium."[2] The Professor apparently proceeded into Burmah, and as he included his experiences in his work on China, we will do so too. There he met Father Cadoux. "In 1888 I hunted him up at a humble residence in the jungle outside Bhamo. . . . His house was a kind of reed hut, total value perhaps five pounds; he had planks laid across trestles for a bed, and the only furniture consisted of a couple of rough chairs and a table. He entertained me with a 'swarry,' consisting of a scraggy chicken and red rice. The bread was a 'caution' to weak digestions; luckily mine was strong. He had no wine; not even altar wine. In 1892. He had no books beyond his 'exercises'; no meat, no wine, no drugs. He had a tiny chapel arranged in an adjoining hut, and he had spent, and intended to spend, the whole of his strength in endeavouring to convert the Kachyns. . . . In 1894 I learnt from a French missionary that poor Father Cadoux was no more: fever and starvation had done their work."[3]

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (5), 1904, p. 23.

[2] *China past and present*, p. 112.

[3] *John Chinaman and a few others*, 1901, E. H. Parker, pp. 194-5-6-7.

In 1907, Rev. Lord William Cecil gives us a further instance. The French missionary, he tells us, "has been the first among those who, by their self-denying lives, have shown the depth of their belief in the truths of Christianity. An example was told me of this by the wife of a French Consul. She was on the river in the centre of China when a man came on board dressed in Chinese dress, so that till she saw his face, she thought he was a coolie: he proved to be an old friend whom she had known well as a professor of mathematics at the Sorbonne. He had become a Jesuit, and they had sent him up country to live exactly like a Chinese coolie. I think they allowed him £8 a year for his expenses; my informant asked him how he managed, for he was far from being by nature suitable for such a life, and he explained that as he had no turn for cooking or anything of that sort, he grew a few turnips on a patch of ground, and lived on them and on rice. Many people may criticise the folly of the Jesuit body in throwing away a valuable man in this extravagant fashion, but no one can fail to admire the man who patiently submitted to such usage for conscience' sake. Can one wonder that with such men the Roman missions easily lead in numbers and influence?"[1]

We will conclude with the opinion of the Inspector-General of Customs. Speaking at the opening of "the great Missionary Exhibition at the Leeds Town Hall promoted by the Wesleyan body," Sir Robert Hart said that, "although many of those present might not agree with him, he could not omit on an occasion such as this to refer to the admirable work done by the Roman Catholic missionaries, among whom were to be found the most devoted and self-sacrificing of Christ's followers. The Roman Catholic missionaries had done great work, both in spreading the knowledge of one God and of one Saviour, and more especially in their self-

[1] *The National Review*, December 1907, pp. 570-1.

sacrifice in the cause of deserted children and afflicted adults. Their organisation as a society was far ahead of any other, and they were second to none in zeal and self-sacrifice personally. 'One strong point in their arrangements,' he added, 'is in the fact that there is never a break in continuity, while there is perfect union in teaching and practice, and practical sympathy with their people in both the life of this world and the preparation for eternity.' The Roman Catholics were the first in the field, were the most widely spread, and had the largest number of followers, but the Protestant sects in China had done very well, and he understood that their converts now numbered as many as 200,000 communicants."[1]

This being the case for the Roman Catholic missionary, it has only to be remarked that, to the unprejudiced observer, it must indeed seem inexplicable that Almighty God should have given that missionary the grace to go to China—as he has gone for centuries—for his whole life; and when there to lead the life of apostolic poverty and simplicity commanded by Christ our Lord, and which has been so generously and ungrudgingly described by non-Catholics; and yet have omitted to purge the religion he professes from its "errors and superstitions."

[1] *The Leeds Mercury*, 31st October 1908.

CHAPTER III

CATHOLIC MISSIONS FROM ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW

HITHERTO we have chronicled only the evidence of those who readily and generously acknowledged that the Catholic missionary was doing good work, even though they differed from the form of Christianity he taught. We have now to do the same by those who do not approve of his work or himself. We follow, as usual, the order of time.

In 1869, we learn from the late Rev. John L. Nevius that "the comparatively large number of converts connected with the Romish Church is readily accounted for by the length of time during which its missions have been prosecuted; the striking resemblance between its doctrines and rites and those of Buddhism; by the fact that very little knowledge, or evidence of change of heart and life is deemed requisite to Church membership; and the freedom accorded to native converts in allowing them to work on Sunday, and to conform in many respects to the superstitious practices of their countrymen. Their religion consists in being baptised, and attending regularly to the Mass and the Confessional, and believing that their souls are safe in the keeping of the Church and the priest. In order to participate in the benefits conferred by the Church, they are taught that they must abjure all connection with the worship of Chinese gods, and never deny, on pain of eternal punishment, the religion which they have

adopted. The result is that they generally keep aloof from the idolatrous worship of Buddhism and Tauism, bear testimony to the universal duty of worshipping one God, and believing in one Saviour, and will generally adhere to their religious profession to the death. But in renouncing idolatry as taught by Buddhism, they still practise it in another form . . . believing in works of merit, of supererogation, exercising blind faith in their religious teachers, etc. . . . That there are many persons among the missionaries and converts of the Romish Church in China who are honest and sincere in their religious convictions I do not doubt. I rejoice to hope and believe that the truth of God, though held by them in a corrupt form, and with a large admixture of the commandments of man, has by the blessing of God been the means of the spiritual regeneration and salvation of many."[1]

In his revised work of 1883, Dr Wells Williams thinks "there may have been true converts among the adherents to Romanism." This seems almost possible in the light of what the Doctor tells us on the same page concerning them:—" . . . Many of their converts also exhibit the greatest constancy in their profession, preferring to suffer persecution, torture, imprisonment, banishment, and death rather than to deny their faith, though every inducement of prevarication and mental reservation was held out to them by the magistrates, in order to avoid the necessity of proceeding to extreme measures. If undergoing the loss of all things is an evidence of piety, many of them have abundantly proved their title to this virtue. But until there shall be a complete separation from idolatry and superstition; until the confessional shall be abolished, and the worship of the Virgin, wearing crosses and rosaries, and reliance on ceremonies and penances be stopped; until the entire Scriptures and Decalogue be taught to the converts, until, in short,

[1] *China and the Chinese*, 1869, Rev. John L. Nevius, pp. 411-5.

the essential doctrine of justification by faith alone be substituted for the many forms of justification by works, the mass of converts to Romanism in China can hardly be considered as much better than baptised Pagans."[1]

Of the Catholic missionaries:—"It is hardly possible to doubt, when reading the letters of these two men [Père Dufresse and Père Gagelin], both of whom were martyred for the faith they preached [1833], that they sincerely loved and trusted in the Saviour they proclaimed."[2]

In 1884, we learn from Rev. B. C. Henry—for ten years a Protestant missionary in Canton—that "the priests, of whom there are twenty in the Province [Kwang-tung], all adopt Chinese dress, and often penetrate far into the interior. Some of them are earnest, self-denying men, submitting to hardship willingly, and spend their lives in toilsome service for others. They work in secret, and often by underhand means, never allowing the people or the magistrates to suspect their purpose until they have gained their ends. They have no public chapels or preaching halls." One of their "prominent members" appears to have asked Mr Henry's permission to preach in his chapel, "assuring me that he would carefully avoid introducing any of their peculiar tenets." The reason given for this unusual request was that in his own church "he had no opportunity of proclaiming the doctrine he believed." We further gather that "the worship of saints and images makes it an easy transition from idolatry to the practices of the Romish Church. Instances are given where the original idol is retained, but is christened St Joseph in place of Kwang-Kung, or the Holy Mother in place of Koon-yam. . . . Many of their intelligent people

[1] *The Middle Kingdom* (Revised Edition), 1883, S. Wells Williams, LL.D., vol. ii., pp. 317-8.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 317.

have left the Church which closes the door of knowledge, refuses the Scriptures to the people, and hides its light from the masses, and joined the Church of Jesus. . . . Protestants have little to learn from them, and less to fear; while admiring the courage and self-sacrifice of many devoted men who have plunged into the unknown interior, and there worn out their lives, we avoid their methods and appeal to none but the purest motives in winning men for Christ, still trusting that in the flocks gathered by these self-denying priests there may be many who, through the imperfect light brought them, have been led to a true knowledge of the Lord of all, and Jesus His Son, our divine Redeemer."[1]

From Rev. Edwin Joshua Dukes, missionary of Fuhkien (1885), we learn that "it needs sometimes a great deal of discretion to avoid giving needless offence in speaking of idolatry and superstition. As a rule, there are few things the Chinaman enjoys more than to have fun poked at his gods. As the preacher pictures the absurdity of idolatry, his audience laugh till they hold their sides, and shout, 'It is all true.' 'Then why do you worship them?' 'It is the custom of our ancestral land, teacher.' But it is not always safe to be so plain, and perhaps it is seldom wise to be humorous. Satire may create bitterness towards the preacher, and defeat the end he has in view." Mr Dukes gives an experience, where he came to a lonely hut among the hills. "Hearing voices I went to the hut door, and saw that it contained only two persons, a man whose head was being shaved, and the barber who was performing the operation. After greeting I went in, and noticed at the end of the room a large heap of parts of idols. Heads, legs, arms, were piled together without any order. The sight struck me as most ludicrous, and I began to say to the barber, whom I took to be the tenant of the house, that he should try how this head would look on that

[1] *The Cross and the Dragon*, 1884, Rev. B. C. Henry, pp. 421-3, 425-6.

body, or this leg by the side of that leg, and so on. I also asked him whether he had heard the proverb, 'In these generations idol-makers have no posterity.' The barber, a jovial-looking man, joined in the fun till the head of his victim seemed to be endangered. But, happening to look the latter in the face, I saw that his eyes were flashing fiercely, his teeth were set, and his hands clenched. In a moment I saw the mistake I had made. I had been speaking to the wrong man. The solitary repairer of idols was not the merry barber, but the morose and passionate man sitting on the box. I did my best to apologise, but he treated me very coldly when, three days after, I tried to speak to him more soberly on the same theme."[1]

Apparently, it is not necessary to be so careful concerning the Catholic Church, *e.g.*, "That which strikes the visitor most is the marvellous resemblance between the whole of it [the Buddhist worship] and the Romish mummeries called the Mass . . . all these recall most vividly the services of the Roman Church, and confirm the conviction that Romanism is not so much Christianity degenerated towards Paganism, but rather Paganism only slightly Christianised."[2] He might have learned a lesson from his own experience above related. In any case, he received another one. He narrates that, during his sermon in a country chapel, a sedan-chair stopped at the door, and a Chinese gentleman entered from it, and stood by the side of the missionary. At the end of the discourse, he asked permission to speak, and gave a seven minutes' address of approval and encouragement, and of hope in Christianity alone. After the subsequent hymn, he vanished in his chair, and "we saw him no more. From certain modes of expression we guessed he was a Cantonese Roman Catholic, but his brief visit made a great impression on the little assembly."[3]

[1] *Everyday Life in China*, 1885, Edwin Joshua Dukes, pp. 207-8-9.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 193-4. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 213-4.

1887 affords us the advantage of the opinion of Rev. H. C. Du Bose:—"The traveller who notes the similarity between these two great systems of faith and worship must, on comparison, conclude that Romanism is Buddhism prepared for the foreign market—Buddhism adapted to a Western civilisation."[1]

In the Province of Kiang-si, in the year 1888, it seems that—according to Miss Guinness, of the China Inland Mission—"the devil is wide awake to the crisis, and the Church of Rome is not indifferent. Her attitude is powerful and advancing. Here in this very province she is actively seeking to make headway, and has an almost incredible number of young people in her hands in various schools and organisations."[2] Later, at the end of some observations on Buddhism, we find, as we might have expected:—"Clearly not Buddhism as understood by modern writers, but Buddhism as understood and practised by the Chinese people and priests; Roman Catholic in its ceremonial, its tonsure, its rosary, its purgatory and priestcraft, with all the vain unmeaning repetitions, penance, meritorious works, and mummery of paganised Christianity, including the sacred sect of shaven celibates, cut off from all natural affection and human ties."[3]

Concerning this resemblance between the externals of Catholicism and Buddhism which, according to all authorities, is really very striking, Captain Brinkley gives the following simple explanation:—"Some devout Catholics have accused the Devil of contriving these resemblances expressly to discredit the Holy Church, but it is easier to believe that the eclective liberality invariably shown by Buddhism when brought into contact with a rival creed, is answerable for similarities far too numerous to be accidental."[4]

[1] *Dragon, Image and Demon*, 1887, Rev. H. C. Du Bose, p. 290.
[2] *In the Far East*, 1889, Geraldine Guinness, p. 134.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 189.
[4] *China, etc.*, 1904, Captain F. Brinkley, vol. xi., p. 144.

At the Shanghai Protestant Missionary Conference of 1890, in a paper on the "Historical Review of Missionary Methods," by Rev. Dr Nevius, we find that "the policy of stimulating the growth of missions by the free use of money is carried out in Shantung to its fullest development by the Romish Church. Material advantages are offered of many kinds; tracts of land are purchased and let to Christians or inquirers, to work on shares; money is invested in erecting buildings, affording employment to artisans of every kind; schools are established, giving work to teachers; men are engaged as paid preachers, as remarkable for the greatness of their numbers as the meagreness of their qualifications. I am credibly informed that these temporal inducements are offered openly and frankly, whether with the sanction and approval of the missionaries in charge, or not, I cannot say. It is certain that the general impression has gone abroad through the province that a person entering the Romish Church is sure of having his temporal wants provided for and his lawsuits attended to. A few persons have left our communion avowedly to improve their worldly condition."[1]

Rev. Alexander Armstrong remarks concerning the Catholic missionary in Shantung, the year following:— "The history would, I am sure, be one of intense interest: for whatever may be said against the practices of those who profess this faith, it has never lacked men of unswerving fidelity to the commands of the Pope—men, who, however often they may have used questionable means in order to accomplish so-called good, have stuck nobly to their posts—aye, and died as if happy in the arms of 'Mother Church.'"[2]

In 1892, a gentleman who describes himself as "Mr Chi, a humble member of the tribe of peripatetic sellers of good books," tells us, "the fathers do not

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, pp. 288-95.

[2] *Shantung*, 1891, Alexander Armstrong, F.E.I.S. (Am. Presb. Miss.), pp. 143-4.

personally preach to the heathen, nor circulate books, nor carry on medical work among them . . . being mainly occupied in discharging the offices of their religion on behalf of their Christians. . . . But the most important reason in favour of the foreign dress for Protestant missionaries, and the one which is alone sufficient to decide the question in its favour against all that can be said on the other side, is the marked distinction which it places between us and the Roman Catholics . . . and go where one may in China, whether justly or unjustly, these are regarded by the heathen with intense dislike. It is thus of the utmost importance that they should understand that we are not Romanists, and very often when they do so, from being bitterly hostile, they become very friendly. It is thus often necessary to say that we differ from them in nationality, in doctrines, in practices, and in dress. . . . I am afraid that in writing in this way I shall be regarded by some as exceedingly uncharitable, but I must confess to a measure of sympathy with the heathen in this matter."[1]

Although "the fathers do not carry on medical work" among the heathen, Rev. Alexander Williamson wrote, some twenty years previously:—"Hospitals, indeed, existed in the Sung Dynasty, A.D. 960-1278, and perhaps earlier, but there can be no question that such institutions received an immense impulse from the Roman Catholic missions. After their advent in China, under the pressure of their example, and from the Ming Dynasty onward, foundling hospitals, and hospitals for the sick and poor have been established in a large proportion of the great cities."[2]

Concerning "personal preaching," Rev. Dr Nevius warned his readers, in 1898:—"We should remember

[1] *The Anti-Foreign Riots in China in* 1891, 1892 (*North China Herald* Office), pp. 294-5.

[2] *Journeys in North China*, 1870, Rev. Alexander Williamson, B.A., vol. i., pp. 36-7.

that continuous discourse is something which is almost unknown in China. Even educated Chinamen follow it with difficulty. . . . An attempt at formal preaching by those who have neither the Scriptural knowledge, nor the intellectual and practical training to fit them for it, is still more to be deprecated.[1] . . . Some missionaries adopt indirect and unobtrusive methods, avoiding crowds, and making comparatively little use of public preaching, planning to have the people seek them, rather than going after the people. The Romanists, so far as my observation goes, generally adopt this method. Their long experience and success render their example worthy of serious consideration."[2] "Colloquial preaching in churches they have always had."[3]

In 1897, Mr Arnot Reid informs us that, "the feeling between the different Protestant missionaries, I am glad to say, was entirely friendly and helpful. To the Roman Catholic missionaries, the attitude was different. The Roman Catholics do not, as it happens, work much in Kalgan, but they work on a considerable scale in the neighbouring town of Hsuan-hua-fu, containing 100,000 inhabitants. I judge that they work there with more success, not because of any statement made to that effect, but because of the bitterness of feeling that seemed to me to characterise the tone of reference to them. This was so notable, that, somewhat in defiance, I fear, of good manners, I was hastily impelled to ask, although as delicately as possible, whether Roman Catholics were not to be considered as fellow-Christians, engaged in preaching the same Gospel. I did not put it quite so plainly as that, and I did not obtain any very plain answer; but I fear that the average Protestant missionary in China does not recognise a Roman Catholic priest as a fellow-worker in the cause of Christianity."[4]

[1] *Methods of Mission Work* (Reprint), 1898, Rev. John L. Nevius, D.D., p. 36. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[3] Rev. J. Edkins, D.D., *Shanghai Conference Records*, 1890, p. 568.

[4] *Peking to Petersburg*, 1897, Arnot Reid, pp. 77-8.

This last proposition had been already stated in the same terms by Archdeacon Moule:—"The ability, energy, self-denial, and devotion of many Roman Catholic missionaries demand our hearty admiration and attract our sympathy. But when we find the doctrines and ritual reproduced full-blown before the heathen, such as the *cultus* of the Virgin Mary, image worship, the sacrifice of the Mass . . . we dare not recognise them heartily as fellow-Christians and fellow-workers, however earnestly we may desire to do so."[1]

In 1901, speaking of the protection and rights claimed for missionaries by European Powers, Rev. J. Campbell Gibson observes:—"In the missions of the Church of Rome they are systematically, and I am afraid I must say unscrupulously, used for the gathering in of large numbers of nominal converts, whose only claim to the Christian name is the registration in lists kept by native catechists, in which they are entered on payment of a small fee, without regard to their possession of any degree of Christian knowledge or character. In the event of their being involved in any dispute or law-suit, the native catechists or priests, and even the foreign missionaries take up the cause. . . . The consequence is that the Catholic Missions in South China, and, I believe, in the North also, are bitterly hated by the Chinese people, and by the magistrates. By terrorising both magistrates and people they have secured in many places a large amount of apparent popularity, but are sowing the seeds of a harvest of hatred and bitterness which may be reaped in deplorable forms in years to come. On the other hand, some Protestant missionaries have laid down the rule that we should teach our converts to rely simply on the protection of God, refusing them any assistance when they are wronged or persecuted."[2]

[1] *China as a Mission Field*, 1891, Ven. Arthur E. Moule, B.D., p. 44.

[2] *Mission Problems and Mission Methods in South China*, 1901, J. Campbell Gibson, M.A., D.D., pp. 309-10.

There seem to be exceptions to this rule, however, as we had previously learned from the same reverend gentleman, in reference to a case of persecution, that "it was only after long efforts on our part, that the leading murderer, who was a nephew of his victim, was, after some time, imprisoned for the crime."[1] And an examination of the official papers for 1901 shows us a "Memorandum by Rev. Dr Gibson respecting missionary losses," addressed to Mr Consul Scott, of Swatow, 19th December 1900:—"Jao Ping and other district losses; for actual goods and property lost; extra expenses of missionaries and families consequent on abandoning stations during the riots; compensation for three lives lost (native); allowances to converts for food on expulsion from home, etc.; say, in all, 40,000 dollars.

"In settlement of this and other outstanding claims, I would ask that, at the very least, the magistrate of Pu Ning be removed for the gross partiality he has shown in dealing with the Tsai Kou case, and especially for the neglect of the authorities to hold an impartial investigation, as repeatedly urged by H.M. Minister, that the accused in the case be at once released, and reinstated in the family home and property. . . .

"As regards the heavy losses at Jao Ping, etc., we beg your best assistance in recovering the full amount; but in order to expedite matters and obtain an immediate settlement, we would leave the question of the amount practically in your hands."[2]

In consideration of the distressed state of the country, in deference to the request of the Chinese authorities, the claim was, on the application of H.M. Consul, reduced to 30,000 dollars.[3]

However, a more kindly feeling seems to prevail now, as we learn from the same reverend gentleman that "Protestant missionaries will always look with

[1] *Mission Problems, etc.*, p. 266.
[2] Parliamentary Paper, China (6), 1901, p. 82.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

esteem upon any one—even if we think him in many things mistaken—who goes among the Chinese in sincerity with the Holy Bible in one hand and the cross of Christ in the other."[1]

From Rev. J. Miller Graham, in 1902, we learn that "the missionary body in China is a very complex organisation. It is composed of diverse elements. It includes various nationalities. . . . That individual missionaries are all actuated by high and sincere motives, we must in justice believe, but that their methods for the carrying on of their work are all prudent or wise, it would be impossible perhaps to expect. It would not be difficult, for example, to show that the methods of the Roman Catholic Church—methods which differ widely from those of the Protestant Church—are to a large extent responsible for a great deal of ill-feeling. I have already shown their connection with the occupation of Kiaochow—the root of all the trouble that followed. The priests are constantly coming into conflict with the native officials over the law pleas of their converts. They have demanded and have received, the better to facilitate their ends, a civil status which places them on the same level as mandarins. They have employed as Church agents men of notoriously bad character, who have used their position to levy blackmail on innocent and helpless people in the name of Mother Church. All this has caused much friction between priests and magistrates, and it has made the name of the Roman Church in many parts of China a by-word among the people for all that is unscrupulous and high-handed."[2]

The Catholic missionaries, nevertheless, seem to have had their good points. From the same authority we learn what took place at Moukden at the outbreak of the Boxer Rising, in 1900:—"Hurriedly we packed a few things together, and at dawn on the 23rd June,

[1] *The North China Daily News*, 10th June 1907.

[2] *East of the Barrier*, 1902, Rev. J. Miller Graham, p. 208.

all the remaining ladies and children, with Mr —— and myself made our way quietly out of the city, and reached the Russian railway, ten miles distant. After three days we reached Newchwang in safety. It was my purpose to have returned to Moukden, but when we reached Newchwang, we had advice saying that, as the situation had rapidly grown worse, ——, ——, and —— were compelled to leave. . . . On 30th June came the sad tidings of the destruction of all our property in Moukden, and the massacre of many of our Christians. One week later came the still sadder intelligence of the massacre of the Roman Catholic Bishop, two priests, and two 'Sisters.' They had armed their converts, fortified the compound, and attempted to resist the Boxer onset—but in vain. Had we remained in Moukden a week longer, we should doubtless have shared a like fate. Every day thereafter brought tidings of the most wanton destruction of churches and chapels, houses and hospitals, all over Manchuria. Nearly every Christian merchant had his shop looted. A blinding sense of horror comes over us, as we think of the sufferings and peril through which our native brethren passed."[1]

In 1903, the author of *A Flight for Life*, in writing of the occupation of Kiaochow and the cause thereof, informs us that:—"Two Jesuit missionaries who had been expelled from Germany for some misdeeds, went, perhaps with sincere intentions, to the district of Ts'ao Chou Fu in the south-west corner of the Province of Shantung . . . and these missionaries lost their lives."[2] [They were not Jesuits, and had not been expelled from Germany for some misdeeds; but in the unavoidable haste of a flight for life it is not always possible to be accurate.]

Writing in 1904, Rev. A. E. Glover, of the China Inland Mission, informs us that "it is impossible to

[1] *East of the Barrier*, pp. 167-8.

[2] *A Flight for Life*, 1903, James Hudson Roberts, p. 8.

exaggerate the bitterness of the hatred which the Roman Catholics have brought upon themselves. Their aspirations to temporal power and spirit of political intrigue; their secret, and withal unscrupulous methods of work; their arrogant pretensions, their interference in the law courts, backed by threats of appeal to the Government of their country; their rule of celibate living, their despotic use of priestly power—all this and more had provoked the natives to the point of exasperation. A brother missionary working in An-huei once told me that, when itinerating in the north of that province, where the Romanists had been labouring, he found that to mention the name of Jesus was to open the flood-gates of blasphemy. To use his own words, 'The Roman Catholics had made the name of Jesus literally to stink before the people, and the mere fact that the two religions owned the same Jesus for their God was in itself to defeat every effort to obtain a hearing for the Gospel.'"[1]

The reviewer of the work from which the above extract is taken remarks:—"There is surely ample testimony from impartial witnesses that the Roman Catholic missionaries in China have been as heroic as in other countries where they have carried the Cross to savage and barbarous peoples; and to read such a statement as that given above will tempt some people to say with bitterness, 'How these Christians love one another!'"[2]

And finally, we find that the "hindrances" to the work of the American Baptist Mission of Central China, in Hupeh, in 1907, were "Roman Catholics and scalawags, who falsely borrow our name to shield themselves from the law."[3]

[1] *A Thousand Miles of Miracle in China*, 1904, Rev. A. E. Glover, p. 9.

[2] *The Tribune*, 13th August 1906.

[3] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, 1907, edited by D. MacGillivray, p. 340.

CHAPTER IV

ORPHANAGES

On 9th February 1871, the Chinese Government issued a circular to the Treaty Powers, concerning missions in general and Catholic missions in particular. As the Governments principally concerned declined to adopt its various proposals, the incident was considered at an end in November of the same year.

"The gravamen of the offences cited in the circular," says Captain Brinkley, "was that neither Chinese administrative authority, nor Chinese customs were respected by the Roman Catholic missionaries. Being removed by the Treaties beyond the reach of Chinese jurisdiction, they availed themselves of this exception in a manner calculated to excite popular prejudice. In the matter of orphanages, for example, which had proved the source of so many evil rumours, the missionaries insisted on complete independence of local official supervision. Seeing that by carrying on their work—work which the Prince [of Kung] and his fellow authors frankly admitted to be benevolent—behind doors closed to all Chinese observation, they created an opportunity for injurious suspicions, the obvious remedy lay either in frank co-operation with Chinese officialdom, or in transferring the scene of their charitable labours to their own countries." [1]

The first article of the circular says:—"The Christians, when they found an orphanage, give no

[1] *China, etc.*, 1904, Captain F. Brinkley, vol. xii., pp. 135-6.

notice to the authorities, and appear to act with mystery; hence the suspicions and hatred of the people. In ceasing to receive children, the evil rumours which are now in circulation would, at the same time, disappear. If, however, they wish to continue this work, only the children of necessitous Christians must be received. . . . It would be a good thing to abolish the foreign orphanages, and to transport them to Europe, where they could practise their charity at their ease: it would then belong to the Chinese to come to the aid of these children."[1]

Orphanage work in China—so far as Europeans are concerned—was formerly quite peculiar to the Catholic missions. "Protestant missionaries," wrote Mr Wade, H.M. Minister in Peking, to Wên Siang, in June 1871, "have not to my knowledge established any such asylums, but I am assured that in those of the Roman Catholics, no objection is ever made to the visits of the parents or friends of an infant. Many of these, at the same time, have neither parent nor friend. They are children who have been abandoned by all. It would be difficult to find anyone who would become security for unfortunate outcasts who have been left by the wayside to die."[2]

"The Romanists, too," remarks Dr Coltman, "have orphan asylums, and, so far as I know, are the only denomination who have, thus far [1891], taken up that branch of the work."[3]

We may here notice the form which "suspicions" take in China in this matter. Among the collected correspondence relative to the Tientsin massacre of 1870, we find a letter from a Cantonese at Tientsin to a friend at Chefoo, in which the latter was told the French sent converts to remote places to kidnap boys, providing them with stupefying drugs for the purpose.

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (3), 1871, p. 11.
[2] *Ibid.* (1), 1872, p. 14.
[3] *The Chinese*, 1891, Robert Coltman, Junior, M.D., p. 176.

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The captives had their eyes and hearts taken out, and their bodies were secretly made away with.[1]

The accusations against the Sisters at Wuhu in 1891, previously quoted, may be recalled, viz., of having drugged children, in order to take away speech and hearing, that the Sisters might steal and send them to Shanghai.

A day or two before the Sze-Chuen riots of 1895, the Province was placarded to this effect:—"Notice is hereby given that, at the present time, 'foreign barbarians' are hiring evil characters to kidnap small children that they may extract oil from them for their use. I have a female servant named Li who has personally seen this done. I exhort you, good people, not to allow your children to go out. I hope you will act in accordance with this."[2]

In the Hunan publications we find:—"They [the Christians] also [here follow details of alleged mutilation of women and boys], and sell them to foreign merchants to make photographic chemicals."[3]

Nor were these suspicions confined to the lower orders. Mr Freeman Mitford tells us that "the famous General Tsêng Kwo-fan (father of the Marquis Tsêng, who was afterwards Minister in London) was talking one day with an English doctor on the subject of this babies' eyes fraud, when suddenly he said, 'It is no use attempting to deny it, for I have here some of the dried specimens,' and he pulled out a packet of those gelatine capsules which are used for covering castor-oil and other nauseous drugs!"[4]

At first sight, it might seem that the above was too ridiculous to merit serious consideration. But it must

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1871, p. 72.

[2] *History of the Sze-Chuen Riots* (May, June), 1895, Alfred Cunningham, p. xxx.

[3] *The Hunan Tracts of China*, 1892, translated by "Shocked Friend of China," p. 4.

[4] *The Attaché at Peking*, 1900, A. B. Freeman Mitford, C.B., p. vii.

be explained that Chinese pharmacy appears to be committed to the principle that no remedy is efficacious unless it is nasty. Wherefore every sort of abomination is called into requisition, parts of the human body, especially the viscera, and even human and animal excrement.

Rev. Dr Glover further remarks that "it is deeply to be regretted that the doctrine of transubstantiation should have been carried to China. To the people there, it suggests that Christians are cannibals; and they see in the numerous orphanages, which Roman Catholic piety has established throughout the land, only the means of supplying the Lord's Table with the revolting meal."[1]

This last idea—cannibalism—came near involving in unpleasant consequences no less a person than H.M. Consul at Hankow, as we learn from Mr Wade: "There was last year a demonstration against a picnic party (of whom the Consul was one), occasioned by the belief that the foreigners were about to eat their own little children."[2]

All of which—in the circular and outside it—is very edifying, evincing, as it does, such a tender regard for the well-being of Chinese children. The question naturally suggests itself:—What made the orphanages necessary? And this question is now going to be answered for us.

"A law exists in the statute-book," says Professor (now Sir Robert) Douglas, "making infanticide a crime, but, as a matter of fact, it is never acted upon; and in some parts of the country, more especially in the provinces of Keang-se and Fuh-kien, this most unnatural offence prevails among the poorer classes to an alarming extent. Not only do the people acknowledge the existence of the practice, but they even go the length of

[1] *A Winter in North China*, 1892 (Introduction), Rev. R. Glover, D.D., p. 8.

[2] Parliamentary Paper, China (4), 1871, p. 1.

defending it. What, they say, is the good of rearing daughters; when they are young they are only an expense, and when they reach an age when they might be able to earn a living, they marry and leave us? Periodically the mandarins inveigh against the inhumanity of the offence, and appeal to the better instincts of the people to put a stop to it; but a stone which stands near a pool outside the city of Foochow, bearing the inscription, 'Girls may not be drowned here,' testifies with terrible emphasis to the futility of their praiseworthy endeavours. It is only, however, abject poverty which drives parents to this dreadful expedient, and in the more prosperous and wealthy districts the crime is almost unknown." [1]

So much for the law, now for its observance. "One Sunday [in 1866]," we are told, "while service was going on," at Fung-Hwa in Che-kiang, "those present were greatly distressed by the piteous cries of an infant, whose brains were being literally beaten out by its own parents in an adjoining yard. It was a little girl and would not pay for keeping." [2]

In the Report of the Delegates of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce on the Trade and Commerce of the Upper Yangtze River, the writers—Messrs Michie and Francis—mention that, in the Province of Kweichow, infanticide of female children "is very prevalent, not only amongst the very poor, but perhaps to a still greater proportionate extent amongst the wealthier inhabitants. This remark applies also to the inhabitants of Szechuan, where it is said to be extremely rare to find a family with more than two daughters." [3]

In 1870, Rev. William Muirhead, of the London Missionary Society, mentions that "a woman once

[1] *China, Manners and Customs*, 1882, Robert K. Douglas, pp. 91-2.

[2] *Story of the China Inland Mission*, 1900, M. Geraldine Guinness, vol. ii., p. 62.

[3] Parliamentary Paper, China (8), 1870, p. 37.

confessed to me that she had destroyed three or four of her own girls, but she did not like it to be referred to, as there was evidently a sense of shame and infamy connected with it."[1]

On the authority of Mr Hughes, and referring, as we gather, to the year 1871 or thereabouts, Mr Thomson informs us :—"Female infanticide is perhaps worse in this part of the Fuh-kien Province than in any other quarter of the Empire [he writes concerning Amoy], and this corroborates the conclusion I had myself come to from inquiries I made on the spot. Mr Hughes, one day, met a stout, well-to-do looking man of the coolie class, carrying two neat and clean round baskets, slung on a pole, which he bore across his shoulder. 'Hearing the cry of a child, I stopped him, when I found he had two infants in each basket;' and it is recorded that this crafty old speculator in innocents was on his way to sell his living burden at the Foundling Hospital, where he would receive one hundred cash, or about fivepence, for a female child, and as much as three pounds for a boy. The Foundling Hospital was organised by a native merchant whom I had the pleasure of meeting; and it is a lamentable fact that the prospect of receiving fivepence will tempt a mother to part with her babe."[2]

"Fu-kien," the late Mr Archibald Little explained, more than twenty years later, "seems always to have had a larger population than it could provide food for, and hence is the province in which infanticide chiefly prevails."[3]

Ven. Archdeacon Gray notes that, in 1873, "the Provincial Treasurer of Hupeh has issued a proclamation, prohibiting in the strongest terms the drowning of female children."[4]

[1] *China and the Gospel*, 1870, Rev. William Muirhead, p. 65.

[2] *Through China with a Camera*, 1898, John Thomson, F.R.G.S., pp. 99-100.

[3] *The Far East*, 1905, Archibald Little, p. 119.

[4] *Walks in the City of Canton*, 1875, Ven. John Henry Gray, M.A., p. 575.

The taotai of the district of Se-Non, says Baron de Hübner, in 1874, "resides at Nam-tao. Without favouring the missionaries, he condescends to ignore their presence. On a recent occasion he has even indirectly acknowledged their merit, by exhorting his subjects in a proclamation to give their children to the Fathers, rather than to kill or expose them."[1]

In his work on *The Religions of China*, Professor James Legge tells us that:—"Infanticide has been charged against the Chinese, as showing their want of natural affection; and though it does not exist to the extent that has sometimes been represented, it meets you in most parts of the Empire, and is owing mainly to the poverty of the people. The reason why I refer to it is because the victims of the unnatural practice are almost invariably girls."[2]

Concerning her visit to Formosa, Mrs Hughes remarks, in 1881, that "the Padre told us that the care of infant children is sometimes thrust upon him by the Chinese, and that a number of little innocents who would otherwise have perished were then being brought up at the expense of the mission by nurses in various parts of the country. Many natives who, from poverty or other causes, are desirous to get rid of their children, knowing the benevolent nature of the foreign missionaries, expose their newly-born infants in places where the Padre or some member of his household are sure to find them, feeling assured that in his hands they will meet with tender care. When the infants have been for some time in the hands of kind nurses, they are transferred to an orphanage which has been established in the principal city of the island—Tai-wan-foo."[3]

"A Roman Catholic priest, who had lived twenty-

[1] *A Ramble round the World*, 1874, M. le Baron de Hübner, vol. ii., p. 377.

[2] *The Religions of China*, 1880, Professor James Legge, p. 111.

[3] *Among Sons of Han*, 1881, Mrs Thomas Francis Hughes, pp. 183-4.

one years in Peking, told me [Miss Fielde] that during the year 1882, seven hundred little castaway girls had been gathered up alive from the ruts and pits of the street, and brought in by the messengers sent out on such service from the Roman Catholic Foundling Asylum of that city; and that during the previous ten years, over eight thousand infants had been thus found and sheltered by the same institution."[1]

"Close inquiry into the practice of infanticide reveals a state of things truly heartrending," wrote Rev. B. C. Henry, in 1884. He had good reason to say so, for he goes on to record that in some places, one-fifth of all the female children born were put to death by their parents. In some districts of a limited area the percentage was greater still, while in the wealthier centres it was usually less. Of ten women, selected at random, all but two were found to have destroyed at least one child, some acknowledging the guilt of several.[2]

In view of the virtuous concern for the welfare of children manifested in official quarters in China, it is perhaps a little startling to learn that "only last year [1886], the *Peking Gazette* recorded the horrible fact of a mother burying her own child alive, and the Emperor condoning, even if not actually approving, the loathsome crime."[3]

The year 1887 affords an instance of lack of concern for children. Thus, Rev. Virgil Hart about a Sz'Ch'wanese woman attached to his party :—"Between Hankow and Ichang she gave birth to a son; and a foreign lady who was on board and took some interest in the woman, told us that she found her in bed, while the infant was lying on the iron deck nearly dead. When she remonstrated with the mother, she replied that it was of no account as she had three sons at home."[4]

[1] *Pagoda Shadows* (Sixth Edition), 1890, Adele M. Fielde, pp. 33-4.
[2] *The Cross and the Dragon*, 1884, Rev. B. C. Henry, p. 308.
[3] *Leaves from my Chinese Scrap-Book*, 1887, Frederic Henry Balfour, p. 61.
[4] *Western China*, 1888, Rev. Virgil C. Hart, B.D., p. 26.

Rev. F. Hartmann told the Missionary Conference of 1890 that "the Chinese themselves have very long been aware of the fact that infanticide is a crying evil in China, so much so that Imperial mandates have again and again condemned it, and that foundling asylums have been erected by heathen charity. . . . Now to rescue from death, or from the worse fate of slavery to sin and shame, and to bring up such foundlings, opens up a very wide field for orphanages in China. Roman Catholic missions have availed themselves of this opportunity to a far larger extent than Protestants. I do not think that it is the wish of the Conference that I should enlarge upon their work; but I may say this much, that in some of their institutions there is much well worth seeing, and something well worth imitating."[1]

Sir Robert Douglas, while admitting that "it is difficult to pronounce accurately on the prevalence of the practice," notes the fact of the discovery by an officer of the Engineers, of a rock, the surface of which was "covered with the unburied remains of infants" in Hong-Kong harbour.[2]

The information below is taken by Mr Norman from the late *Chinese Times*:—"In its columns I found the following account of infanticide in the Province of Shansi. One man who had been in the employ of a foreigner for two years and had received good wages, put his little girl to death, because, as he said, he could not afford to feed her. A woman, without solicitation, told one of the foreign ladies that she had killed five children in order to go out as a nurse, and that her husband compelled her to do it. 'Yes, it was a great sin,' she said, 'but I could not help it.' A man who passes for a gentleman, volunteered the information that he had allowed two of his girls to die for want of care. 'Only a small matter. We just wrapped them up in bed-clothes, and very soon they were gone. I am

[1] *Records of Shanghai Conference*, 1890, p. 293.

[2] *Society in China*, 1894, Robert K. Douglas, p. 355.

a poor man, girls are a great expense and earn no money, and as we already had two, we concluded we could not keep any more.' The testimony of a Chinese teacher is as follows:—'Infanticide is very common among the poor, and even people in pretty easy circumstances. There is hardly a family where at least one child has not been destroyed, and in some families four or five are disposed of. Nothing can be done. As soon as the little ones are born, they are laid aside and left to perish. Girls are more often destroyed, but boys are very often killed. The officials know it, but say it is something they cannot control.' Another man, who is now a member of a Christian Church, says that in his village there is hardly a family that has not destroyed two or three children. And once more, a woman said that 'it was very common for poor people to go into rich families as wet-nurses because they received good wages; and in fact they often destroyed their babies that they might do so.' Such a state of things is terrible in the extreme, and the worst feature about it is that there seems to be no public or individual conscience against it: even well-informed and otherwise respectable people look upon it as a matter of course." A lady contributor to the *North China Daily News* furnishes the following statistics:—"I find that 160 Chinese women, all over 50 years of age, had borne 631 sons, and 538 daughters. Of the sons, 366, or nearly 60 per cent. had lived more than ten years; while of the daughters, only 205, or 38 per cent. had lived ten years. The 160 women, according to their own statements, had destroyed 158 of their daughters; but none had ever destroyed a boy. As only four women had reared more than three girls, the probability is that the number of infanticides confessed to is considerably below the truth. I have occasionally been told by a woman that she had forgotten just how many girls she had had more than she wanted. The greatest number of infanticides owned to by any one woman is eleven."

"Wife-selling and child-selling are also common, and during the last famine, a party of beggars were actually observed in the streets of Tientsin with baskets, loudly crying, *Mai nü* (Girls for sale)! in one of the baskets being four baby girls with pinched faces and wizened limbs."[1]

In North China, children are very seldom the victims of *intentional* infanticide, but merely victims of superstition, we learn from Mr Chester Holcombe, of the U.S. Legation in Peking, in 1895. For example, a sick child is treated well, and with anxious care, till all remedies fail, and death is apparently near. In that case it is stripped and placed on the floor just outside the outer door of the room. The parents leave it there and watch the issue. If it survive, "it is a true child of their own flesh and blood," if it dies, "it never was their own child, but an evil spirit seeking admission to their hearthstone in order to work them mischief and ruin." Hence it is thrown into the street to be gathered up by the dead cart. Mr Holcombe says he has seen a cart with "at least a hundred at once thrown in as garbage," and that he knew a high Chinese official in Peking to admit that, "One night last week I was obliged to throw his (three-years-old infant son's) body outside the door." No power could induce the parents to give such a child proper burial in the family resting-place for the dead, as it would mean its adoption; and what sane Chinese would adopt an evil spirit into his own family?[2]

This fact, indeed, had been noticed, years before, by Dr Nevius also, who remarked that the large number of castaway bodies of children "is often regarded, though unjustly, as evidence of the prevalence of this crime," when they were rather the victims of superstition which denied them burial, as "it is supposed that their bodies

[1] *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, 1895, Henry Norman, pp. 289-91.

[2] *The Real Chinaman*, 1895, Chester Holcombe, pp. 167-8-9.

were inhabited by the spirit of a deceased creditor of a previous state of existence."[1]

A China Inland missionary tells us of holding a Bible class, in October 1895. "Among them was a woman, bright, careless, full of fun. She told me, with the utmost indifference, that she had had six little girls, all of whom she had got rid of in their babyhood . . . she did not want them, and did not all her neighbours do the same?"[2]

Rev. Dr Martin wrote in 1896:—"One man whom I questioned on the subject said cynically that they put their girls out of the way because, if spared to grow up, they would bring disgrace on their parents. Another confessed that several of his female children—I forget how many—had been smothered in the hour of birth. . . . [Infanticide] prevails in many, but not in all parts of the Empire. It is almost unknown at the capital, where it is forestalled by nipping the young life at an earlier stage."[3]

"In certain districts near Amoy," says Archdeacon Moule, in 1902, "only seven-tenths of the female infants are allowed to live. . . . Heathen societies exist (notably at Ningpo), whose object is to subsidise poor parents who have a daughter born, and punish those who have been found guilty of the practice."[4]

Concerning Fu-kien, once more. "To illustrate the prevalence of female infanticide, and also the growing confidence of the people in the missionaries [Church of England Zenana Mission], it may be mentioned that during 1902 no less than fifty girl-babies were left on the doorstep, or near the compound of the Mission-house, or saved by Christians in country places and brought into Ku-cheng. . . ."[5]

[1] *China and the Chinese*, 1869, Rev. John L. Nevius, p. 252.

[2] *Among Hills and Valleys in West China*, 1901, Hannah Davies, p. 88.

[3] *A Cycle of Cathay*, 1896, W. A. P. Martin, D.D., LL.D., pp. 107-8.

[4] *Missions of the Church Missionary Society. The China Mission*, 1902, Ven. A. E. Moule, B.D., p. 14.

[5] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, 1907, edited by D. MacGillivray, p. 57.

In 1903, Professor Parker informs us that "there is a practically continuous chain of evidence from the eleventh century down to this day, establishing in the most unmistakable way the fact that the custom of drowning female infants has been specially noticeable along the southern coasts and around the great lakes of China." . . . In Sz'ch'wan the practice is rare, because "there is a large export of women to Shen Si, which last province has recently been devastated by Mussulman rebellions. There was also a heavy export to Shanghai, and I found that the native customs officials, with the connivance of the police, used to charge an export *likin* [provincial customs duty] of about 2s. a female." He also notes an export from Wenchow to Shanghai, with consequent decrease of infanticide in the adjoining country.[1]

And the China Centenary Missionary Conference of 1907, which included among its members, Protestant workers from every part of the Empire, thought it necessary to urge "on the whole missionary body the importance of enlisting the sympathies of Christian women in China in the fight against opium, impurity, footbinding, the destruction of girl-babies, and early betrothals."[2]

In the matter of the purchase of children, the Chinese Military Attaché in Paris enlightens us to this effect:—"There exists also for poor parents another means of escaping privation, and protecting the existence of their female children; this is the sale of the child to a rich family, in which it will become a servant. The word 'sale' shocks delicate ears; but we must not be alarmed at words. The children sold are brought up by the family that buys them, and employs them until their majority, in

[1] *China past and present*, 1903, Professor Edward H. Parker, pp. 396-7.

[2] *China Centenary Missionary Conference*, 1907 (*North China Daily News* Office), p. 27.

its service. They are then dowried, and afterwards married, and become free. These women who have been purchased children are able to receive every right that maternity confers, and their origin is not a humiliating stain."[1]

Legislation on this subject also seems to be of little avail. "The practice of selling children is common, and though the law makes it a punishable offence, should the sale be effected against the will of the children, the prohibition is practically ignored."[2]

Mr Freeman Mitford — who was in China in 1865 — presents us with the following remarkable document, in which we must observe that the provisions of the law seem to have been observed, as "the child was simply in a fever of delight at leaving her parents."

"This is a bill of sale. Wan Chêng, of the village of Wan Ping, has a child the offspring of his body, being his second daughter and his seventh child, aged eight years. Because his house is poor, cold, and hungry, relying on what has passed between a third person and his wife, he has determined to sell his daughter to one named Ma. He sells her for twenty-eight dollars."[3]

In 1872, H.M. Consul at Shanghai informs us:— "The practice of selling children is nevertheless tolerated, and it has become very prevalent of late years, owing no doubt to the vast amount of poverty and wretchedness which everywhere prevails."[4]

In a western suburb of Canton—so we learn from Mrs Gray—the wife of the American Consul "saw a man in the street, who had a shawl tied round him.

[1] *The Chinese, painted by themselves*, 1884, Col. Tcheng Ki-tong, pp. 125-6.

[2] *China, Manners and Customs*, 1882, Robert K. Douglas, p. 91.

[3] *The Attaché at Peking*, 1900, A. B. Freeman Mitford, C.B., pp. 242-3.

[4] *The Foreigner in Far Cathay*, 1872, W. H. Medhurst, p. 92.

From this shawl peeped out three little heads. A crowd of women gathered round this man, the shawl was undone, and the poor little baby girls were passed round from one woman to another to be examined. Then the bargaining began; the highest bidder offered 5 cents for one of the little creatures, but the man demanded 6 cents, and refused to sell either of the infants under this price."[1]

In 1895, Dr Morrison states that "during the last year it is estimated, or rather it is stated by the Chinese, that no less than three thousand children from this neighbourhood [Chaotong], chiefly female children and a few boys, were sold to dealers and carried like poultry in baskets to the capital. . . . Female children were now offering at from 3s. 4d. to 6s. each. . . . Starving mothers would come to the mission, beseeching the foreign teachers to take their babies, and save them from the fate that was otherwise inevitable. . . . One mother I met, who was employed by the mission, and told the missionary in ordinary conversation, that she had suffocated in turn three of her female children within a few days of birth, and when a fourth was born, so enraged was her husband to discover that it also was a girl, that he seized it by the legs, and struck it against the wall and killed it. . . . A man came to me, who for a long time used to heap up merit for himself in heaven by acting as city scavenger. Early every morning he went round the city, picking up dead dogs and dead cats in order to bury them decently—who could tell, perhaps the soul of his grandfather had found habitation in that cat? While he was doing this pious work, never a morning passed that he did not find a dead child, and usually three or four."[2]

Of the Chinese Foundling Hospitals. From Dr

[1] *Fourteen Months in Canton*, 1880, Mrs Gray, pp. 136-7.

[2] *An Australian in China*, 1895, G. E. Morrison, M.B., C.M., F.R.G.S., pp. 100-1-2.

Lockhart we gather some statistics concerning the native institution at Shanghai:—

	1841.	1842.
Children remaining from former year	22	35
Received at the gate in the current year	114	51
From Sung-kiang-fu	34	...
Sent out	58	26
Died	78	58
Remaining on the books	35	42

Many of the children (says Dr Lockhart) are suffering from disease when they are received, and die in three or four days afterwards, and according to the Report, more than half the deaths take place thus early; but, even after this deduction, the rate of mortality in the establishment is still excessive.[1]

Mrs Gray visited the Chinese Foundling Hospital, Canton, where she tells us, "a most sad spectacle presented itself to our eyes. The building is very dark and dreary, and the little ones told a sad tale of neglect with their starved pinched faces. Many of them look like little shrivelled-up monkeys. These poor unfortunate infants are all girls, sent to the asylum by fathers disappointed of the hope of having sons, and not caring for the expense and trouble of bringing up these poor and uncared-for female children. The little things are parted from their mothers, often when only a few hours old, and in this hospital as many as three are often given to one woman, to be nourished by her. The greater number soon die, and one must look upon them as the more fortunate, as those who live are sold as slaves, or are brought up to a life worse than slavery. . . . From all accounts it seems to be true that the custom of killing female children is still practised, particularly in those districts occupied by the Hakkas."[2]

Mr Thomson amplifies the foregoing from the

[1] *The Medical Missionary in China*, 1861, Wm. Lockhart, F.R.C.S., F.R.G.S., p. 26.

[2] *Fourteen Months in Canton*, pp. 52-3.

experience of Dr Kerr. "One wet nurse has, at times, as many as three infants to feed, and she must herself be reduced to starvation allowance, as her pay is only about eight shillings a month. Many of the nurslings die, as might be expected, whilst those who survive are sold for about three shillings apiece. It is mostly female children who are brought to this benevolent institution, for girls are esteemed nothing but encumbrances to poor parents in China, the reproach of their mothers, who ought to give birth to boys alone. These foundlings are bought by the wealthy, and brought up as servants, or concubines; or else they are disposed of to designing hags, who purchase them on speculation, and reserve them for a more miserable fate. This custom of investing in girls as speculative property, and of rearing them carefully until their personal attractions will command a high market value, is one of the worst aspects of that traffic in slaves, which is carried on without shame or concealment all over Chinese soil."[1]

Mr Henry tells us in 1884:—Many who do not destroy their children outright, do so in a modified form by sending them to the native foundling houses. The largest of these is in the eastern suburbs of Canton, supported by Government. "The funds being administered in the usual Chinese way, only a small proportion reach the end for which they are ostensibly given. . . . They are kept in this place for six months, during which time one half of them die from exposure and general want of care. Those who survive are disposed of to anyone who will take them for 20 cents each and a present to the nurse. Reliable statistics show that, of those who survive, four-fifths go into the hands of a class of women known among the Chinese as 'devil grannies,' whose sole business is to buy and bring up girls for immoral purposes."[2]

Mr Thomson, who we gather visited China in 1871,

[1] *Through China with a Camera*, 1898, John Thomson, F.R.G.S., p. 86.
[2] *The Cross and the Dragon*, 1884, Rev. B. C. Henry, pp. 309-10.

and has informed us as to Canton, continues:—"The Amoy Hospital is, however, conducted on rather more liberal principles than that in Canton; for if anyone here wishes to obtain a child, he may get one free of charge, provided that he can deposit suitable credentials as to his own respectability. One of the resident Christian missionaries informed me that he felt convinced that 25 per cent. of the female children were destroyed at birth. The natives themselves make no secret of this crime, and I saw one old woman who confessed to having made away with three of her daughters in succession. They excuse their misdeeds on the ground of extreme poverty, and they certainly are poor and wretched to a degree I had no conception of before I visited their abodes."[1]

We may now give some account of the massacre of the Sisters of Charity at Tientsin, in 1870—first refreshing our memory concerning the state of affairs. M. Edmund Plauchut, then, reminds us that by the Treaty signed at Tientsin in 1858, the port was thrown open to foreign trade, and in 1861 a British Consulate was established there. The memory of the sack of Peking by the Anglo-French forces was still fresh, and hatred of the "foreign-devils" fiercer, and if possible, more bitter in Tientsin than elsewhere, for, so far, its people had had very little intercourse with Europeans. Only amongst the more enlightened of the Chinese was the fact recognised that the time for opposition to the entry of foreigners was gone by, and that if the country were not opened from within, it would be forced open from without, and the dismemberment of the Empire become inevitable. Previous to the outbreak, the relations between Paris and Peking were considerably strained, and the long smouldering fire broke into flame in Tientsin.[2]

[1] *Through China with a Camera*, p. 100.

[2] *China and the Chinese*, 1899, Edmund Plauchut (translated and edited by Mrs Arthur Bell), pp. 193, 199.

"The establishment of an orphanage under the care of the Sisters of Mercy, at Tientsin," says Sir Robert Douglas, "had aroused considerable ill-will on the part of the people, who credited the Sisters with all the horrors which at such times are charged without proof or reason against the missionaries. Unhappily, while the feelings of the people were being thus stirred up by the promoters of mischief, a peculiarly fatal epidemic broke out in the orphanage; and the rumour spread abroad that the Sisters were murdering their charges wholesale. An angry mob surrounded the building and demanded admission. The Sisters, thinking it wise to humour the crowd, invited five of their number to come in and inspect the premises. At an ill moment, the French Consul, M. Fontanier, thinking the arrangement derogatory to an institution of France, drove the inspectors from the building. This action further infuriated the people; and the district magistrate warned the Consul that, unless an inspection were submitted to, he would not be responsible for the consequences. The Consul refused to listen to these words of warning, and evidently failed to realise the depth of feeling that had been aroused. The fury of the mob was now directed against him as well as against the Sisters; and a surging, stone-throwing crowd collected in front of the Consulate. Being now thoroughly alarmed, Fontanier made his way, followed by his clerk, to the yamên of Chunghow, the Superintendent of Trade. Not getting the assurances he demanded from this official, he rushed out into the crowd, pistol in hand. Of the subsequent details nothing is exactly known; what soon became apparent was that the Consul and his clerk were beaten to death. The mob, now being mad with excitement, set fire to the Roman Catholic Cathedral, and rushed off to the orphanage to wreak their vengeance on the Sisters."[1] Eight Sisters were murdered, and, according to M.

[1] *Europe and the Far East*, 1904, Sir Robert K. Douglas, pp. 134-5.

Plauchut, their Superior was dragged to a post not far off and, having been bound to it, the Chinese inflicted on her all the tortures in which they are so terribly skilled, finally cutting her body into small pieces. The remaining nuns were, one and all, first outraged and then murdered, their home and church set fire to, and their mangled bodies thrown into the flames.[1]

The children appear to have been cared for by the Chinese authorities—as we learn from a native version of the occurrence :—"The children taken to the *Futai* are much visited by benevolent men. Generally the visitors come with some provisions, and upon seeing these, the little creatures fold their hands and say grace; they usually tell them not to do so, or they will have to go without the presents. The clever infants may then be seen partaking of the repast offered, but—say grace afterwards."[2]

Concerning the conduct of the Sisters, we learn from Dr Thin that "a gentleman at Tientsin, who is Consul for several Treaty Powers, and is a paid servant of Chung-How, has made himself unpopular for the rest of his life that he may spend in China, by a series of misrepresentations in the newspapers, which have since been completely refuted, whose object was to insinuate that the Sisters were to blame for bringing their destruction on themselves."[3]

And Mr Michie tells us "there was readiness in certain foreign official quarters, to dwell on undefined 'indiscretions.' It was too easily assumed in the beginning that the practice of the Sisters of Charity of purchasing destitute children reasonably excited the suspicions of the people. As a matter of fact, however, as was admitted afterwards, this alleged practice of the Sisters was entirely imaginary."[4]

[1] *China and the Chinese*, p. 201.
[2] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1871, pp. 75-6.
[3] *The Tientsin Massacre*, 1870, George Thin, M.D., pp. 8-9.
[4] *The Englishman in China*, 1900, Alexander Michie, vol. ii., p. 243.

In his comments on the Missionary Circular of the following year, H.M. Minister thus wrote to Wên Siang:—"Referring to the Tientsin massacre, Your Excellency explains that it was the result of the people's exasperation against Romanism; and you express a fear lest, after the severe punishment inflicted, and the ample indemnities awarded, Christians should be emboldened to go to greater lengths than heretofore in the direction which is unpopular.

"I have communicated to the Prince of Kung the expression of my Government's dissatisfaction at the tardiness and incompleteness with which that fearful crime was disposed of. I am persuaded that no foreign Government has thought otherwise of the action of the Chinese Government; and that, so far from sharing Y. E.'s belief in the encouragement of Christians to greater boldness, the evil for which all Powers alike are on the watch is the molestation of those who it has been shown can be molested with so little fear of consequences to the aggressors. It is vain to attempt to trace the evil deed to its authors; to discover who criminally commenced the agitation against the Romanists; to whom it occurred, while not a child was missing, to revive the horrible calumny that the Romanists were kidnapping children for hateful purposes. It is sufficient for my present purpose to repeat what I had the honour to observe to the Prince of Kung in my despatch of 9th July last, that the Government is responsible for that ignorance of the people which alone can render possible their perpetration of an act so barbarous upon a pretext so ridiculous; and the fact that the people's continuance in such darkness is due to a want of enlightenment on the part of the Government, will not be held to excuse the Government when foreign life and property is jeopardised by the simple people who the Government is not wise enough to teach."[1]

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1872, p. 17.

Finally, M. Plauchut tells us, that in 1876, another party of Sisters re-opened a hospital and some schools on the same lines as their predecessors—"apparently in total ignorance of the dangers surrounding them." They went, he says, "although it was well known that there was no abatement in the bitterness of the feeling against foreigners, and that the mandarins were especially averse to female missionaries."[1]

We will conclude by presenting the more attractive side of orphanage work in China. First, Baron de Hübner—a Catholic nobleman—in 1871 :—

"At a short distance from Sû-kia-wei is a house of education and an orphanage under the care of some Sisters (*Les Religieuses Auxiliatrices des Âmes du Purgatoire*). The Superior, a young lady of most pleasing exterior, a soft and yet intelligent face, did the honours of her establishment with the grace and easy manners of a person in the highest society. Her French is the pure Parisian of the Faubourg St Germain, from which she came to bury herself in this terrible solitude, and to consecrate the best years of her life, her health, and probably life itself, to the arduous duties of her vocation. . . . We were taken to the orphanage, the *Salle d'asile* of the babies, brought to the Sisters by their families or picked up in the street. These poor little creatures, all girls, who, when they arrive, are just bundles of skin and bone, devoured by vermin, and generally full of disease and wounds, are baptised, washed, their wounds dressed, and if they survive, brought up in this house, and married to their co-religionists, or else placed as servants in Christian families. We went into one of the large rooms. It was spacious, beautifully clean, and well ventilated. All along the walls are ranged cradles, each containing two children, placed head to foot. A number of Sisters, leaning over them, were tending them with the utmost care. Strange and marvellous change in these little

[1] *China and the Chinese*, pp. 203-4.

existences, which reckon only a few hours! Yesterday these poor little creatures had been thrown on a dung-heap, left to be devoured by the pigs, or to expire in a slow and horrible agony. To-day they have found mothers, who, to save them, have come from the uttermost parts of the earth on wings of God-like charity."[1]

Of the Jesuit orphanage "for children of the lower classes who have been brought here by their parents," M. de Hübner remarks:—"A thing which is curious and difficult to explain is, that the number of children has considerably augmented since the terrible massacres of Tientsin last year, which made such a sensation throughout the Empire."[2]

In Manchuria, Mr James, in 1888, found that the orphanages "are capitally managed by the Sisters, and farms are attached to some of them. The children look as rosy and chubby as a mother's heart could desire, and the training is of the highest possible value, raising, as it does, a community of moral, God-fearing men and women amongst a race eminently selfish, cruel, and prone to gross self-indulgence."[3]

Rev. T. M. Morris, who came to China in 1890, as Inspector on behalf of the Baptist Missionary Society, also inspected the Catholic Foundling Hospital at Hankow, and "could not but admire the Christian benevolence of these good women, who were so nobly devoting themselves to the service of these poor children in a strange land. It is an industrial rather than an educational establishment: the teaching only occupies two hours a day, and does not go beyond reading and religious instruction."[4]

At Ichang, Mrs Bishop visited the hospital and orphanage, "both under the charge of French and

[1] *A Ramble round the World*, 1874, M. le Baron de Hübner (translated by Lady Herbert), vol. ii., p. 197. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

[3] *The Long White Mountain*, 1888, H. E. M. James, p. 202.

[4] *A Winter in North China*, 1892, Rev. T. M. Morris, pp. 186-7.

Belgian Sisters, comely women with much grace and geniality of manner, in which the loving, all-embracing maternal instinct finds its winning expression. The hospital, which is on the ground floor, was crowded, indeed overcrowded, and, as is usual in Roman hospitals in China, the doctor and much of the medical treatment were Chinese, the aid of the foreign doctor (a medical missionary) being called in in surgical cases. . . . The Bishop told me that the Chinese do not, as formerly, bring orphans and foundlings in numbers to their keeping; indeed I gathered that, in Ichang at least, the day for this is past. I can only hazard a guess at the reasons. These may be the anti-foreign spirit which has been stirred up recently; the increasing competition of orphanages founded by charitable Chinese; the partial disappointment with the temporal results of conversion; and perhaps, above all, the excessive mortality which prevails in these institutions, very much owing to the fact that the infants are brought to them in great numbers, either dying or suffering from disease, or in such a feeble and emäciated state that they are unable to assimilate their food."[1]

Rev. Lord William Cecil—who, it may be remembered, preached at the Centenary Missionary Conference in Shanghai, in 1907—in one of a series of articles on "Mission Work in China," alludes thus sympathetically to the orphanages:—"The fourth method is chiefly followed by Roman Catholics, and is both merciful and fruitful. The Chinese often cast out their baby-girls and leave them to die; and in several places in China for many years the Sisters have received them into orphanages. We saw several of these orphanages, and pretty but pathetic sights they were. The children were very happy in the peaceful Christian life of the convent, still it was pathetic to see the poor cripples, whose own mothers had no love for them,

[1] *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 1899, Mrs J. F. Bishop, F.R.G.S., p. 100.

looking to women of alien race as mothers. Several times we saw little ones who could not recover from the usage they had received, and whose wan smiles told of the kindness they were receiving. This work has been fruitful in building a really Christian population; for when these children grow up they are married to other Christians, and thus a race of people exists in China who have been Christians for even four generations."[1]

All things considered, it does not appear probable that any possible horrors in a Catholic orphanage could have surpassed those taking place outside with the tacit permission of all. The "official mind" seems to work in China much as elsewhere, viz., in the direction of an interminable inspection and reporting. It is, consequently, not surprising to find that "Chinese officialdom" should have claimed to exercise supervision over the work of institutions, officially admitted to be benevolent, the necessity for which arose solely from its own incapacity to enforce the laws of the Empire.

[1] *The Times*, 14th September 1907.

CHAPTER V

THE LITIGATION QUESTION

Captain Brinkley continues his synopsis of the Missionary circular issued by the Chinese Government thus:—"But most eminently productive of evil was missionary interference between their native converts and the operation of the laws of the land. The cross of Christ had become a rallying-place for the dregs of the population,—for men who, so far from obeying any religious impulse, saw in the foreign religion merely an ægis to cover evil deeds, and to secure exemption from discharging public obligations. Thus, on the one hand, these unscrupulous persons were enabled to practise all kinds of chicanery at their neighbour's expense, being secure of missionary support in the law-courts, and of gunboat succour in the last resort; and, on the other, they could with impunity refuse to join in public subscriptions, and even to pay taxes or special imposts, to which all their townsmen were liable, and which consequently became more onerous for the rest. Even in cases of actual criminality, the Roman Catholic missionary interfered between the law and its just victim; and the administrators of the law had learned by bitter experience that to exercise their legitimate functions in the face of foreign protection generally involved evil consequences for themselves."[1]

And Article 6 of the circular suggests:—"The aim of the missionaries being to exhort men to virtue, it is

[1] *China, etc.*, 1904, Captain F. Brinkley, vol. xii., p. 136.

befitting that, before admitting an individual to the privileges of religion, he should be examined as to whether he had undergone any sentence or committed any crime. If the examination be in his favour, he may become a Christian; if the contrary, he should not be allowed to become one."[1]

On this last H.M. Minister observes, in his letter to Wên Siang:—"In Article 6 it is proposed that no Chinese of bad character should be allowed to embrace Christianity; and instances are given of persons in the Far West Provinces who, after entering the profession, continued to commit the gravest offences. If this be the case, why were the offenders not seized and tried by the district authorities? It is vain to lay the blame for their action upon the few missionaries within their jurisdiction. They have not hesitated to lay violent hands upon the missionaries themselves. In Kweichow, only the year before last, three Romish missionaries were seized by the authorities, and one of them died of the ill-treatment he received. I do not understand how the power of the mandarins can be less over their own countrymen. As to the exclusion of all but good men from the profession, the Christian religion, as every treaty sets forth, is for the teaching of men to become virtuous. Is it not, then, the duty of its teachers, like the philosopher Mencius, to turn away none who desire to be converted: 'Not to scan the past, neither to reject those who tender themselves.'"[2]

The case against the missionary is put into concrete form by Mr Gorst, thus:—"The foreigners, themselves, are in many cases foolish enough to interfere with the public functionaries on behalf of Christian converts who have been brought before the tribunals. It often happens, for instance, that a Chinaman who has adopted the new faith, and has consequently been compelled to break with the family community, becomes

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (3), 1871, p. 14.
[2] *Ibid.* (1), 1872, p. 16.

involved in a dispute as to his share of the inheritance, which he naturally wishes to take with him. The disputants will perhaps bring the matter before a magistrate; and the missionary, actuated no doubt by the best of motives, and merely wishing to see fair play, puts in his oar on behalf of his *protegé*. It is unnecessary to point out the consequences of such an act, or to dilate on the impolicy and tactlessness—to use no stronger term—of interfering with the course of justice —or injustice—in a foreign country, particularly, one might add, in a country which guards the integrity of its institutions with such a jealous pride as China."[1]

Writing in 1901, Mr Savage-Landor tells us:— "Roman Catholics have probably, though unconsciously, done more towards producing ill-feeling than any other missionaries in China, though it must be said for them, on the other hand, that they have also accomplished ten times more good than all the others put together. Roman Catholic missionaries occupy an official position in the Heavenly Empire, and they often exert their rights by unduly protecting the converts (not the best class of Chinese by far) to an extent that is somewhat vexatious to the non-Christian population. In Roman Catholic villages, for example, all persons of other creeds are excluded, and the missionaries have not only the spiritual guidance of the communities, but become absolute rulers. The converts cherish the belief that to pay the taxes to the nearest mandarin is about all that is required to make them good citizens, the priests taking care to protect them in case of any offence against the law of the country other than non-payment of taxes. Again, the Catholic priests, with their fatherly love for the converts, constantly interfere in rows between their folks and the neighbouring villages, or between the people and officials. This is a constant source of friction."[2]

[1] *China*, 1899, Harold E. Gorst, pp. 176-7.

[2] *China and the Allies*, 1901, A. Henry Savage-Landor, vol. i., pp. 17-8

"It is customary," Mr Brown remarks, "for the friends of Protestant missionaries to answer the critics' charge of interference in native lawsuits, by stating that it does not lie against them, but only against the Roman Catholics, the rule of the Protestant missionary being to avoid such interference, save except in rare and extreme cases. Mr Alexander Michie, however, in an address at Shanghai in 1901, declares that Protestant missionaries are not entitled to such exemption, and that while they may not interfere so frequently as the Catholics, they nevertheless interfere often enough to bring them under the same condemnation."[1]

In 1906, the correspondent of *The Times* finds an unsatisfactory feature in "the frequent interference of Catholic missionaries in the interior in native lawsuits, leading sooner or later to breaches of the peace and attacks upon the innocent. Surely the psychological moment has come when the Vatican should place itself in direct relations with the Chinese Government, should forbid indiscriminate interference in lawsuits, and should exercise disciplinary control over its missionaries. The present position is unsatisfactory and anomalous, and does injury to France and other Catholic Powers and to the good name of the Church, while it leads to constant trouble, much of which could be avoided by the appointment of a Legate or Nuncio to Peking."[2]

As Mr Michie has already told us (Part II., Chapter VII.), the step proposed was attempted in 1885, and the appointment of Mgr. Agliardi as Nuncio revoked at the instance of the French Government.

Rev. Lord William Cecil wrote, in 1907:—"As I went out to China I read a book by M. Allier, which made out a very strong case from the Western point of view against the Roman missions as the prime cause of the Boxer movement. His points were the well-known

[1] *New Forces in Old China*, 1904, Arthur Judson Brown, p. 230.
[2] *The Times*, 24th April 1906.

ones that the Romans sought for temporal power, and that they irritated the people by interfering in lawsuits. I was rather convinced by the book till I had seen something of the Roman work, and had heard from impartial sources an account of their influence. I then felt that however wrong from a Christian point of view their action was, it is not really unpopular in China. The interference in the lawsuits, though reprehensible from an ethical point of view, is looked upon by the Chinese as so much the right thing, that I realised, as a French official pointed out, that their action was the result not of their being antipathetic to the Chinese, but rather of their being so sympathetic that they had adopted a Chinese instead of a European standpoint. A lawsuit is only theoretically decided on its merits. Practically a man who has the most influential backing and the longest purse wins. The poor Chinaman thinks very meanly of a European who professes to be his friend, to love him with a sacred love, yet who will refuse to give him that support which is necessary for him to have, if he is to get justice in opposition to some rich and powerful individual. On the other hand, and not inconsistently with this explanation, every Chinese mandarin condemns this practice as one that tends to embroil the missionary with the civil power; but I must in justice add that none would allow that such action was peculiar to the Roman Catholics."[1]

Such being the case as concerns the missionary, it may perhaps be of interest to consider a little testimony as to the condition in which a Christian convert may find himself.

"The Chinese keep back, as might be expected of them," wrote Mr Wade to Earl Granville (8th June 1871), "all reference to the barbarous persecutions of converts and missionaries in various places, if not at the instigation of the mandarins, at anyrate with their full knowledge of what was passing, and have scanty data

[1] *National Review*, December 1907, pp. 571-2.

for some of their charges of missionary intervention and pretentiousness."[1]

"It often happens that one family becomes the possessor of an entire village," we learn from Sir Robert Douglas. . . . In such cases the seniors of the clan act as the village elders. . . . The clan seniors, however, devote their attention more exclusively to the intimate personal relationships of their members than do the village elders, their object being to prevent scandals within their ranks rather than to preserve public order. In this direction they have been found useful fellow-workers with the promoters of attacks upon Christians, and in the provinces of Hunan and Hupeh they jealously guard their ranks from the imputation of heresy. Any member who is suspected of having joined the foreign religion is hailed before the clan tribunal, and is flogged or otherwise tortured in proportion to his obduracy."[2]

"This system of clans is at present an obstacle to the spread of Christianity," wrote Mr Henry in 1884. "Large bodies move slowly, and the time has not yet come when the Chinese are converted by families. It is a very serious thing for a man to face a whole hostile clan with the confession that he has forsaken the religion of his fathers, and can no longer pay homage at the tombs and ancestral shrines. Expulsion is the frequent result for bringing disgrace, as they consider it, upon the clan."[3]

A further difficulty is thus described by Sir Robert Douglas. "The Chinese have allowed Mohammedans to live in their midst, and to hold offices of all ranks, without imposing on them the slightest disability, and it is only when native converts decline to fall into the popular customs, and to take part in the national festivals which mark the seasons of the years, that they come into collision with their fellow-countrymen. In

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1872, p. 4.
[2] *Society in China*, 1894, Robert K. Douglas, p. 115.
[3] *The Cross and the Dragon*, 1884, Rev. B. C. Henry, pp. 42-3.

China, as in other polytheistic countries, innumerable deities are closely interwoven with all business and pleasure, and with every act of public and private life. To renounce these gods and goddesses is, therefore, to interfere with every custom and practice of society. It is held impossible for Christians to take part or lot in any matters polluted by the stain of idolatry, and with holy horror they decline to subscribe to the celebration of the highdays and festivals which are kept at the opening of spring, the solstices, and other public holidays in the year. All this places them in antagonism with their fellow-citizens."[1] Col. Howard Vincent further remarks that in consequence of this, Christian converts "are shunned by their kindred, and often find private employment, even in foreign families, as impossible as a public office."[2] And Mrs Williamson in no way surprises us when she remarks [in 1884] that "a Chinaman is not at all times anxious to claim his acquaintance with a foreigner. Not unfrequently it brings down upon him many petty annoyances from his neighbours. Even the mandarins sometimes oppress those known to be friendly to the outside barbarian."[3]

Yet another difficulty is thus described by Mr Michie :—"The right given in the French treaty of acquiring land and building houses in the interior is one of the most constant causes of local quarrel. Real estate in China, being held not on personal but on family tenure, can only be rightfully alienated by the common consent. A dissentient member holding out, or reviving his claim for purposes of extortion after assent has been given and transfer made, may become a convenient instrument in the hands of agitators against the foreigners; and where there is no such dissentient it is not unusual for the local authorities to

[1] *China*, 1899, Professor R. K. Douglas, p. 370.

[2] *Newfoundland to Cochin China*, 1892 (Appendix), Col. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P., p. 367.

[3] *Old Highways in China*, 1884, Isabelle Williamson, p. 163.

create one by forcible means. . . . A building was made over to the Baptist Missionary Society by a Chinese family,[1] every precaution being taken to obtain the unanimous consent of its various branches. When the deed had been signed by the head of the family and other responsible members, the local magistrate examined the chief of the clan, denounced him, and punished him severely by bastinado. Two of the signatories, thus intimidated, disowned their own act, thereby invalidating the deed by non-unanimity."[2]

Public feeling with regard to Christians is further evidenced by Colonel Scott Moncrieff, who quotes from Dr Morrison's account of the siege of the Legations in 1900. "The enemy were working their way ever nearer to them [the native Christians]. Their rage to reach the Christians was appalling. They cursed them from over the wall, hurled stones at them, and threw shells to explode overhead. Only after the armistice, when we received the *Peking Gazette*, did we find that the word to burn out and slaughter the converts had come from the highest in the land."[3] "Naturally," adds Mr Savage-Landor, "those who have suffered most in the Boxer movement have been the native converts. Hundreds have been terribly tortured, burned alive, massacred. . . . In their hunt for native Christians the Boxers adopted a singular mode of identifying them. Over the head of the unfortunate captive a magic mirror was held, in which a cross (said the Boxers) was to be plainly reflected were the person a Christian. As the magic mirror was made of silvered metal slightly convex, a luminous cross was invariably visible in a powerful light, so that the poor devils arrested on suspicion were always mercilessly put to death."[4]

[1] See Parliamentary Paper, China (9), 1870, p. 1.

[2] *The Englishman in China*, 1900, Alexander Michie, vol. ii., p. 235.

[3] *Eastern Missions from a Soldier's Standpoint*, 1907, Colonel G. K. Scott Moncrieff, C.I.E., p. 85.

[4] *China and the Allies*, 1901, A. Henry Savage-Landor, vol. i., p. 20.

"Opposition and persecution," wrote the late Dr Nevius, "have marked the course of our work to a greater or less extent in every district. The authority of the family or clan is often invoked to overrule the individual in his determination to enter the new religion. Village elders and trustees of temples unite in efforts to exact from Christians contributions for theatres and the repairs of temples. When native Christians persist in asserting their purpose to follow their own convictions of duty, in opposition to those who think they have both the right and the power to control them, open outbreaks ensue, resulting in brutal assaults, house-burning, and in some cases driving Christians from their homes. Native Christians are sometimes arraigned before the local magistrates on fictitious charges; and when it is found, as is sometimes the case, that the local magistrate is only too glad to join in the persecution, false accusations become more numerous, and old lawsuits, in which the Christians were parties, are revived. In these litigations the persecutors have every advantage. There are among them those familiar with all the arts and intricacies of Chinese lawsuits, and those who have friends in the Ya-men, and money for bribery when it is required. Under these circumstances the Christians have small hope of justice. Charges are brought against them with such a show of plausibility, and such an array of evidence, that officers who are disposed to act justly, as I believe some of them are, may almost be excused for regarding Christians as guilty culprits and treating them accordingly. In cases of great injustice and abuse, missionaries have taken up the complaints of native Christians, appealed to their consuls, and in some instances obtained partial redress. It must be acknowledged, however, that we have not invariably elicited correct representations of these cases; and also that, when through the influence of the foreign teachers, the tide of fortune has turned in favour of the Christians, they have not always been free from a spirit of revenge

and retaliation. Bitter and unjust as the treatment has been which our Christians have often received, it is a growing opinion here that the best weapons with which to meet this opposition are Christian patience and forbearance; and that the surest victory, and the one which will be followed by the best results is that of 'overcoming evil with good.' We are less and less disposed to appeal to the civil power on behalf of our people, except in extreme cases."[1]

An instance of "incorrect representation" is chronicled for us by the late Mrs Bishop. "This Catholic priest mentioned to me, as among the trials of his missionary vocation, the case of a village in which nearly all the inhabitants placed themselves under Christian instruction with a view to baptism. These villagers had a suit against another village, in which the possession of a certain piece of land was the point in dispute. French influence was brought to bear, and they gained their case, let us believe justly, after which they returned *en masse* to their idolatrous practices."[2]

Other cases—possibly numerous—can no doubt be cited, and the Western mind is rightly scandalised thereat, for hypocrisy is, as is well known, never practised in Europe.

In any event, rightly or wrongly, the Chinese convert goes before the courts; and we may therefore extend our investigations to the officials and procedure therein.

"No government official," says Mr Colquhoun, "can possibly live on his pay in China; his necessary expenses many times exceed it. What is he to do? Immemorial tradition points out the way. The ox is not muzzled that treads out the corn. . . . It is

[1] *Methods of Mission Work* (Reprint), 1898, Rev. John L. Nevius, D.D., pp. 45-6.

[2] *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 1899, Mrs J. F. Bishop, F.R.G.S., p. 101.

astonishing that any vestige of character is left in men who have graduated in the official school."[1]

Lord Charles Beresford goes into detail:—"The provincial officers of all grades receive bare pittances for salary. They often have to pay very large sums before they take office; borrowing the amount of the 'squeeze' from Chinese banks, or amongst their own friends. The consequence is that the officials make as much as they can during their term of employment, in order to repay themselves for the amount it cost them to obtain office. In addition to this, they expect to pay for the expenses of keeping up the necessary state of their position, and to make a good sum over as a sort of retiring allowance when their period of office is completed. As a matter of fact, unless they get into disgrace, they usually succeed in doing all this, and it is therefore perfectly easy to understand the enormous leakage in the revenue collected before it is remitted to Peking."[2]

Ludicrous instances of malversation are available, of which the following may be sufficient. "Universal corruption is, at the same time, admittedly rampant in every department of the Administration," wrote Mr W. F. Mayers, Chinese Secretary of Legation, in his Report of the Famine in the Northern Provinces, "to an extent, the continual revelation of which in published official documents might well seem past belief. . . . The distribution of grain ordered by Government was made an excuse on the part of the clerks and underlings for the levy of exactions in the shape of future repayments, stipulated for at the rate of cent. per cent.; and payments in money are stated as being actually offered by individuals for permission to decline receiving their quota of relief." (This last was stated in a reply to a Memorial to the Throne by a censor.)[3]

[1] *China in Transformation*, 1898, Archibald R. Colquhoun, p. 260.
[2] *The Break-up of China*, 1899, Lord Charles Beresford, pp. 358-9.
[3] Parliamentary Paper, China (2), 1878, p. 6.

"Some time ago," wrote Mr Henry Norman, in 1895, "the turbulent Chinese of Canton attacked the foreign settlement of Shameen, and plundered and destroyed the houses of the resident foreigners. For this the Chinese Government was, of course, compelled to pay a large indemnity. At the time, however, the London Mansion House Famine Relief Fund had opportunely been collected and forwarded to China, and this sum was in large part devoted to paying the Shameen indemnity."[1]

"Large sums of money," continues Lord Charles, "are put apart [1899] for repair and maintenance of the roads in Peking, but it is only the officials who know where the money goes to. A Mandarin gets a high salary, and a large budget is allowed him for lighting the Peking roads. I was informed that there are only six oil lamps that represent this outlay, but I could not ascertain their locality."[2]

But dealings with Chinese officialdom would seem to be far from amusing to those concerned, if we may judge from the wording of an address from certain Chinese merchants of Hong-Kong, who had become British subjects. Therein we find reference to the "tender mercies of Chinese officials, who have thus golden opportunities for filling their pockets, or paying off old scores"; to "the utter corruption and squeezing propensities of the native officials," as well as "their revengeful and arbitrary spirit."[3]

At the same time, it must be allowed that the position of a Chinese magistrate is not free from difficulty. Mrs Bishop remarks that, in theory, the relation between magistrates and people in China is strictly paternal. His whole time is nominally at their disposal. In practice, "a man has to bribe his way from the gate to the judgment seat," and he who can do so "is sure to see his petition on the top of the pile

[1] *Peoples and Politics of the Far East*, 1895, Henry Norman, p. 283.
[2] *The Break-up of China*, p. 343. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 217-9.

on the magistrate's table." This gentleman is at once "tax-commissioner, civil and criminal judge, coroner, treasurer, sheriff, and much besides, and he is supposed to have an exhaustive knowledge of everything within his bounds. And withal he must so dexterously regulate his squeezes, as that it shall be possible for him to exist, for upon his salary, attenuated as it is by forfeitures, he cannot." Into the midst of all this "comes the foreigner with his treaty rights, a new and difficult element to deal with, and who may be an arrogant, bullying, ignorant person." So that the official is between the orders from Peking to respect foreigners, and the anti-foreign feeling which has been inflamed for years past by agitators, certain of the secret societies, and what are known as the "Hunan Tracts." Any unintentional indiscretion of a foreigner may provoke a riot, and when one occurs, the foreigner lodges a complaint, is backed up by his consul, and the mandarin possibly degraded.[1]

The result of such a state of affairs is thus stated for us by a Chinese author :—" Injustice and corruption have been the normal state of the land. Nobody expects to get off without money or influence in any legal proceedings. The fact, therefore, that many Christians have been helped by missionaries to obtain justice according to the laws of the land, is a sufficient excuse for the ignorant to hate missionaries. Moreover, it has frequently been urged that the Roman Catholic priests have openly helped their converts in their law-suits, and in various other ways. Of course, the position of the missionary is a very trying one. With the best of intentions and purest of motives, the missionary is undoubtedly bound to look after the interests of those who seemingly have incurred the hostility of their kinsmen, simply on account of their religion. A mob is then incited against the Christians

[1] *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 1899, Mrs J. F. Bishop, F.R.G.S., pp. 256-7.

primarily concerned, and in the ensuing scuffle the whole village becomes involved, and it may be the missionary is killed or seriously injured. The results are terrible, not only to those implicated in the mob, but to all in the village. A couple may lose their heads, but all are 'squeezed' to pay the compensation required to indemnify the missionary's friends and the native Christians, as well as to rebuild the chapels and other buildings. It is safe to say that, in every anti-Christian riot, the consequence is that a large number of innocent folks have to suffer in consequence of the misdeeds of bad characters. In other cases, the mandarins secretly encourage or connive at the persecution of Christians, but the results to the people are the same. All the troubles are due to the injustice of the Government officials. When we get honest magistrates, who treat Christians and non-Christians alike, we seldom hear of trouble. Whenever an official is coerced to do his duty, then he resorts to the suicidal policy of encouraging the reckless and turbulent elements to wreak their vengeance on the Christians." [1]

"'How,' asks the European mind, 'can the missionary interfere with the administration of justice in the country?' I asked that question many times," writes Rev. Lord William Cecil, "and the gist of the answer that I got was, that the mandarin does not look at a lawsuit primarily as an opportunity of doing justice, but rather as an opportunity of either directly or indirectly improving his financial position; directly by accepting a bribe if it is big enough to be worth his acceptance, indirectly by making friends with those who can secure his appointment to a more lucrative post; and he is firmly impressed with the fact that if he has a row with a missionary, he will not get such an appointment." [2]

"As long as people keep outside the yamên," wrote Mr James in 1888, "they are practically beyond reach;

[1] *The Chinese Crisis from Within*, 1901, Wen Ching, pp. 322-3.
[2] "Mission Work in China," *The Times*, 21st September 1907.

but once a lawsuit is originated, there is no finality to the extortion except the exhaustion of one of the parties, and even then a decision may be evaded if there is hope of the other party continuing to make 'presents.' This, however, is true, in its fulness, only in cases of disputed property, where the claims are sometimes difficult to resolve. In these cases the Chinese Courts are veritable Courts of Chancery for procrastination and expense. The worse forms of extortion are those practised by the yamên underlings, who sometimes torture in order to extort perquisites."[1]

In 1905, Wu Ting-fang, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, memorialised anent the administration of justice in China. His memorial was approved by Imperial Edict of 24th April of that year. "Recently Wu Ting-fang drafted a new code of procedure in civil and criminal cases. The work, which was admired as a literary effort, suggests, among other things, trial by jury. The innovation is regarded with dismay by litigants, as the necessity of having to bribe a jury as well as the magistrate must add an intolerable burden to the present cost of litigation. Wu Ting-fang retires, discouraged by the outlook, seeing no reasonable prospect of the reform of the judicial system."[2]

So much for Chinese justice in general. We may now investigate its dealings with its "just victim."

"It is to be deplored that misunderstandings should arise from a difference in our codes," wrote H.M. Minister in Peking to Wên Siang, in June 1871, but I see no remedy for them until China shall see fit to revise the process of investigation now common in her courts. So long as evidence is wrung from witnesses by torture, it is scarcely possible for the authorities of a foreign power to associate themselves with those of China in the trial of a criminal case; and unless the authorities of both nationalities are present, there will

[1] *The Long White Mountain*, 1888, H. E. M. James, pp. 160-1.
[2] *The Times*, 26th May 1906.

be always a suspicion of unfairness on one side or the other."[1]

"Torture is practised," says Dr Wells Williams, "upon both criminals and witnesses, in court and in prison. . . . Neither imprisonment nor torture are ranked among the five punishments, but they cause more deaths, probably, among arrested persons than all other means. . . . The clauses under Section I. in the code describe the legal instruments of torture; they consist of three boards with proper grooves for compressing the ankles, and five round sticks for squeezing the fingers, to which may be added the bamboo; besides these no instruments of torture are legally allowed, though other ways of putting the question are so common as to give the impression that some of them at least are sanctioned. Pulling or twisting the ears with roughened fingers, and keeping them in a bent position while making the prisoner kneel on chains, or making him kneel for a long time, are among the illegal modes. Striking the lips with sticks until they are nearly jellied, putting the hands in stocks before or behind the back, wrapping the fingers in oiled cloth to burn them, suspending the body by the thumbs and fingers . . . are resorted to when the prisoner is contumacious."[2]

"It is occasionally possible," Archdeacon Gray tells us, "to see witnesses under examination before these dark tribunals. But, as witnesses are, in some instances also subjected to torture, it is a matter of no ordinary difficulty for a foreigner who is ignorant of Chinese to distinguish which of the two unfortunate men kneeling before the judgment seat and receiving castigation is the prisoner, and which is the witness."[3]

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1872, p. 16.

[2] *The Middle Kingdom* (Revised Edition), 1883, S. Wells Williams, LL.D., vol. i., p. 507.

[3] *China, History of Laws, Manners, etc.*, 1878, John Henry Gray, M.A., LL.D., vol. i., p. 35.

"During the course of a trial," says the Archdeacon, "the prisoner is asked a great many leading questions which have a tendency to criminate him. Should his answers be evasive, torture is at once resorted to as the only remaining expedient. Let me describe a few of the simplest modes of torture. The upper portion of the body of the culprit having been uncovered, each of his arms—he being in a kneeling posture—is held lightly by a turnkey, while a third beats him most unmercifully between the shoulders with a double cane. Should he continue to give evasive answers, his jaws are beaten with an instrument made of two thick pieces of leather sown together at one end, and in shape not unlike the sole of a slipper. Between these pieces of leather is placed a small tongue of the same material to give the weapon elasticity. The force with which this implement of torture is applied to the jaws of the accused is, in some instances, so great, as to loosen the teeth and cause the mouth to swell to such a degree, as to deprive him for some time of the powers of mastication. Should he continue to maintain his innocence, a turnkey beats his ankles by means of a piece of hard wood which resembles a school-boy's ruler, and is more than a foot long. Torture of this nature not unfrequently results in the ankle bones being broken. Should the prisoner still persist in declaring his innocence, a severer mode of torture is practised. This may be regarded as a species of rack. A large heavy trestle is placed in a perpendicular position, and the prisoner, who is in a kneeling posture, is made to lean against the board of it. His arms are then pushed backwards and stretched under the upper legs of the trestle, from the ends of which they are suspended by cords passing round the thumbs of each hand. His legs are also pushed backwards, and are drawn, his knees still resting on the ground, towards the upper leg of the trestle, by cords passing round the large toe of each foot. When the prisoner

has been thus bound, the question is again put to him, and should his answers be deemed unsatisfactory, the double cane is applied with great severity to his thighs, which have been previously uncovered. I have known prisoners remain in this position for a considerable time, and the quivering motion of the whole frame, the piteous moans, and the saliva oozing freely from the mouth, afforded the most incontestable evidence of the extremity of the torture. Upon being released from the rack, they are utterly unable to stand. They are then placed in baskets, and borne by coolies from the court of justice falsely so-called to the house of detention, on remand. In the course of a few days they are once more dragged out to undergo another examination. Even this torture occasionally fails in extorting a confession of guilt. In all such cases another, still crueller, is enforced. The prisoner is made to kneel under a bar of wood, six English feet in length, and is supported by two upright pillars or posts of the same material. When the back of his neck has been placed immediately under it, his arms are extended along the bar, and made fast by cords. In the hollow at the back of his knee-joints is laid a second bar of equal dimensions, and upon this two men place themselves, one on each end, pressing it down by their weight upon the joints of the prisoner's knees, between which and the ground chains are sometimes passed to render the agony less endurable. This bar is occasionally removed from the under part of the prisoner's knee-joints, in order that it may be made to rest on the *tendo Achillis*. When in this latter position, the same amount of pressure is applied to it with the view of stretching the ankle-joints. I have twice witnessed this mode of torturing a culprit, and its severity on both occasions was painfully evident."[1]

We have now to see this beneficent tribunal in operation. Baron de Hübner, who visited a Court of

[1] *China, History of Laws, Manners, etc.*, vol. i., pp. 33-4-5.

Justice in Canton, under the guidance of the same Archdeacon Gray, has described the proceedings.

"The pretorium or judgment hall, a little oblong court, is close to the great prison. The judge is seated in an open gallery, with a table before him loaded with briefs. On his right is a clerk, and on his left an interpreter, both of whom are standing. At a few steps in front of the table is the place reserved for the accused. On both sides are five or six subaltern agents of the tribunal. The executioner and his assistants, leaning against the wall alongside of their instruments of torture, stained and rusty with blood, await the signal to make use of them. The Archdeacon and I place ourselves by the side of the interpreter. Speaking in a low voice, which is the only concession he makes to the majesty of the court, my guide rapidly translates for me the essential parts of the interrogatory. There is not a single spectator save the two strangers, *i.e.*, ourselves. Neither the judge nor his assistant take the smallest notice of us; they pretend not even to perceive our presence. The judge is a man of about forty years of age, perhaps fifty. A pale face, cat's eyes, adorned with a pair of enormous glasses, a repulsive expression, his dress simple but cared for, his nails like bird's claws, on his thumb a great jade ring—his whole person respectable, imposing, and hideous to the last degree. This Chinese Minos bends over the table, and never takes his eyes off the two sets of papers, one of which is written in black ink, and the other in red. Behind his seat stand his servants. From time to time one of them passes a long pipe under his arm, and withdraws it quickly, his master contenting himself with one or two puffs. Although the judge understands and speaks the southern dialect perfectly, he is supposed to know nothing but the mandarin, the language of the north; hence the necessity of the interpreter. He never himself takes any part in the interrogatory. That is the business

of the clerk and the interpreter; but he directs them by saying a few words in a low voice from time to time. There is the most profound silence throughout the audience. Shall I own it? The look of the judge freezes me with terror. There is nothing human in that bronze face—not a trace of mercy or of charity. I look about me, and I see the same expression on all the different countenances. I try and put myself in the place of the accused, and feel a cold perspiration mounting to my brow. They brought in the first prisoner, or rather they carried him in in a basket. Here, on this very spot, yesterday, he was put to the torture. They broke his ankle-bones. To-day, he is simply a packet of bones and flesh, incapable of answering a word. His life is ebbing fast. On a sign from the judge, he is carried off. A young man of the lower orders is now brought in, loaded with chains. He kneels in the place set apart for the accused; they always kneel before the tribunal. Fear and craft are combined on his ignoble face, where crime and vice have left indelible traces. After the usual questions as to the family of the accused, his parents and grandparents, the interpreter says to him: 'You stole thirteen dollars?' The accused denies it obstinately. On a slight movement from the hand of the judge the executioner advances. At the sight of him abject terror seizes the unhappy culprit. He hastens to own it. 'Yes, he stole the money, but it was from hunger, to buy rice.' 'In what shop? Was it in such or such a street?' (The scene probably of some other crime—a murder perhaps, committed by this very man.) Here the accused turns pale, hesitates, sobs, implores the mercy of the judge, and denies the crime again. The interpreter, who till now has tried to intimidate him, takes all of a sudden, a soft, insinuating voice. 'Why deny it, my child?' he says, 'own it; and you will then only have to praise our tender mercies. Come along; take off his chains.' This to the executioner, who obeys. 'And now, my

child, speak.' But 'my child' is not so easily taken in. Here begins a struggle between these two men of audacity, lying, and *ruse;* the one knowing that his life is at stake; the other his reputation as inquisitor. The coaxing tone of the latter contrasts with the look of hatred and ever-growing terror which may be read on the face of the accused. At last the poor wretch persists in his denial, upon which the judge, in a low voice, speaks to the executioner, who, with his assistants, throw him down, and then, squatted on his heels, the executioner, counting each stroke in a loud voice, applies at least a hundred blows on his body with a long bamboo. I own I almost fainted at the horrible sight, and my excellent Archdeacon was very nearly as bad. The assistants looked at us with disdainful surprise. Never, as long as I live, shall I forget the screams and howls of this poor fellow. After some minutes, however, the roars ceased. He was only an inert, bleeding mass—impossible to proceed to-day with the second part of the question—that is to break his legs. They drag him off, therefore, or rather, he is carried away."[1]

"It is becoming a question," remarks the correspondent of the *Times* in Peking, in 1908, "whether some remonstrance should not be addressed to the Chinese Government to abolish eunuchs and domestic slavery, and reorganise the administration of justice. Extraction of guilt by torture is still universal throughout the Empire."[2]

The prisons appear to be in admirable keeping with the rest of the judicial system. In 1858, Mr Wingrove Cooke found that "all the inmates" of one he inspected "were squalid and half-starved, swarming with vermin, and covered with skin diseases."[3]

[1] *A Ramble round the World*, 1874, M. le Baron de Hübner, vol. ii., pp. 399-402.

[2] *The Times*, 22nd September 1908.

[3] *China*, 1858, George Wingrove Cooke, p. 371.

In 1860, the late Lord Loch spent some time in the custody of the Board of Punishments, and was thus able to appreciate the arrangements of a Chinese prison, and in particular the fact that, besides beating and torture, "there is a small maggot which appears to infest all Chinese prisons; the earth at the depth of a few inches swarms with them; they are the scourge most dreaded by every poor prisoner. Few enter a Chinese gaol who have not on their bodies or limbs some wound, either inflicted by blows to which they have been subjected, or caused by the manner in which they have been bound; the instinct of the insect to which I allude appears to lead them direct to these wounds. Bound and helpless, the poor wretch cannot save himself from their approach, although he knows full well that if they once succeed in reaching his lacerated skin, there is the certainty of a fearful, lingering, and agonising death before him. My right-hand neighbour on the bench where we all slept was dying from the inroads of these insects; his suffering was great, and the relief his fellow-prisoners could afford was of no avail. The crowded state of the gaol brought me in such close contact at night with this poor fellow, that our heads rested on the same block of wood not a foot apart. The thought, as I lay pinioned and ironed, unable to move during the long dark nights, that his fate at any moment might be my own, was at times difficult to bear with calmness, and with that outward appearance of indifference which it was necessary I should maintain."[1]

In 1875, Archdeacon Gray wrote that the apartments or cells of Chinese prisons resemble cattle-sheds. "The appearance which these apartments present is most uninviting, not simply because they are the gloomy abodes of wretched and miserable men, but for the

[1] *Personal Narrative of Occurrences during Lord Elgin's Second Embassy to China in* 1860 (Third Edition), 1900, the late H. B. Loch (Lord Loch), pp. 114-5.

additional reason that they are the receptacles for every kind of vermin, and of every species of filth." The prisoners seldom, if ever, can wash or dress their hair. "Moreover, in each apartment are placed tubs to receive the urine and excrement of the prisoners; and the stench arising from the vessels in question, more particularly during the hot season of the year, can, we apprehend, be more easily imagined than described. . . . So great is the mortality in Chinese prisons, that a dead-house is regarded as a very necessary adjunct. . . . Prisoners who in Chinese prisons are confined, are certainly, in point of appearance, of all men the most abject and depraved. Their deathlike countenances, emaciated forms, and long, coarse, black hair, which according to prison rules they are not allowed to shave, imparts to them the appearance of demons; and fail not to convey to the mind of the beholder feelings of horror which are not indeed easily dispelled or forgotten."[1]

Mr Geil completes the picture for us in 1904. He inspected, in Luchow, a prison, the buildings of which suggested "a dilapidated zoological gardens, where in broken-down sheds the beasts are human animals, occupying single and general cages. Inside the yamên compound there is a gaol. In one room were three prisoners wearily standing in heavy cangues, with their heads through hinged boards. Chains about the neck came between the wood and their bare shoulders, so that the poor wretches, when standing, bore the full heft of the cangue on the chains, which drove down into the flesh. To rest themselves it was necessary to bend down. In that cramped position there would be relief, but only for a minute. This room during the night would contain thirty persons huddled together like cattle. Those who have money can get the cangue placed on the side during darkness, and thus obtain a little rest. From the yamên gate we passed outside to

[1] *Walks in the City of Canton*, 1875, Ven. John Henry Gray, M.A., pp. 299-300-1.

the detention shed, where over twenty culprits were packed into a small room. The gaoler has many ways of extorting money from prisoners. One is to place a pole under the left arm and fasten it against the wall, then press the other end under the right arm until it touches the wall. This act often crushes the breast-bone. Another is to order the prisoners to pick the lice off themselves and put them on the subject of extortion. A more cruel one is to tie a string to the right thumb and to the great toe, and pull until the remaining toes only just touch the floor. This devilish device has proved effective when others have failed. Torture seldom fails of its purpose."[1]

"Some improvement has taken place in the gaols of Tientsin and Tsi-nan-fu, and one or two other capitals where there are foreigners to observe what is going on; but still, throughout practically the whole Empire, the judicial methods in all civil and criminal cases, for the extraction of evidence by torture and flogging are identically the same methods of barbarism which have been in existence for centuries."[2]

Commenting on the circular, Captain Brinkley sums up thus :—"Of course the question of permanent interest is, what confidence may be reposed in the *Tsung-li Yamên's* accusation? It is here that the silence of the Roman Catholic missionaries presents a barrier to clear judgment. These heroic men never open their mouths in self-defence. They evidently think that whatever suffering the charges of detractors inflict on them, must be borne patiently and in silence as part of the duty they owe to their cause. In this respect their consistency is splendid. They look for a higher judgment than that of man. No testimony offers, therefore, except that of the Chinese, or of men who, professing a different creed, may not be held free from bias. The unanimity of such testimony, however, removes all

[1] *A Yankee on the Yangtze*, 1904, William Edgar Geil, pp. 128-9.
[2] *The Times*, 26th May 1906.

possibility of doubting that the state of affairs in 1871 was pretty much what the *Tsung-li Yamên* represented it to be, and that it remains so to this day. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic missionaries must be assumed to have deliberately weighed the advantages of the system they pursue. They are eminently competent men, and no considerations of inconvenience or suffering for themselves would possess the smallest weight as against the better promotion of their cause. That they would gladly submit their own persons to Chinese jurisdiction, if they thought that Christian propagandism would be advantaged by such a step, admits of no question. But the welfare of their converts belongs to a different range of reasoning. The administration of justice in China presents shocking abuses. Torture is employed, in court to extort confession, in jail to extort money; witnesses are thrust into prison as well as accused persons; the sufferings incidental to incarceration cause more deaths than the executioner's sword; the connivance of minor officials can always be secured to prosecute an unjust claim; and the consequences of becoming involved in a suit where corruption has been practised successfully by an opponent, or where prejudice exists, are often worse than financial ruin. To protect their converts against such abuses, as far as protection is possible, may well have seemed to Roman Catholic propagandists an inevitable obligation, and to withdraw the protection after it had created a spirit of bitter animosity among the non-Christian population can scarcely have appeared a thinkable act. Further, it is not to be supposed that the Governments of Europe and America would consent to entrust the persons and property of the missionaries to Chinese jurisdiction. Whatever the missionaries themselves might choose, their countries will never officially sanction such an arrangement until China effects reforms justifying it."[1]

[1] *China, etc.*, 1904, Captain F. Brinkley, vol. xii., pp. 142-3-4.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE—NUNS

It is much to be regretted, in view of the large number of Catholic schools in the Empire, that so little evidence concerning them, from non-Catholic sources, is to be found. In fact, the only accounts in any detail concern the Jesuit establishments near Shanghai. This is to be accounted for by the fact that Shanghai is the great rendezvous for Europeans ; comparatively few penetrate much beyond, and those who do have, no doubt, other interests. The void can be filled in from the tables at the end ; but as far as this part of the book is concerned, we must adhere to unofficial statement.

In 1857, Mr Laurence Oliphant visited the Jesuit schools at Shanghai, of which he tells us : "I was struck with the intelligent expression of the youths' countenances, and the apparent affection they had for their teachers. Instead of cramming nothing but texts down their throats, they teach them the Chinese classics, Confucius, etc., so as to enable them to compete in the examinations. The result is, that even if they do not become Christians, they have always gratitude enough to protect those to whom they owed their education, and perhaps consequent rise in life."[1]

"The Catholics," wrote Dr Edkins, in 1858, "have not a few well-conducted schools in China. At Seu-kia-wei . . . many of the pupils are taught the art of moulding images in clay, sculpture, etc. It caused us

[1] *Memoir . . . Laurence Oliphant*, 1891, Margaret O. W. Oliphant, vol. i., p. 229.

some painful reflections to see them forming images of Joseph and Mary and other Scripture personages, in the same way that idol-makers in the neighbouring towns were moulding Buddhas and Gods of War and Riches, destined too to be honoured in much the same manner. With such exceptions as this we could not help admiring the arrangements of the school, which appeared to be large and efficient."[1]

It would seem to be hardly necessary to go to China for material for "painful reflections." A few years later, Mr Coffin, travelling in India, inspected the bazaars at Mirzapoor, of which he remarks :—"A visit to these stores lets us into the secret of England's prosperity . . . the little brass image of Krishna, before which the Hindoo woman bows in worship, came from a Birmingham workshop."[2]

In 1861, Captain Blakiston, Lieut.-Colonel Sarel, Dr Barton, and Rev. Mr Schereschewsky of an American mission, tried to penetrate *via* the Yangtze, Tibet, and Himalayas into India. They did not succeed, but Captain Blakiston brought back a detailed chart of the river for 840 miles, a comparison of which, says Colonel Henry Yule, R.E., "with the old Jesuit representations of the river, as given in D'Anville's maps, is very favourable to the general correctness of the latter."[3]

About 1867, Mr Coffin, an American traveller, visited China. Among other matters, he mentions "a Foundling Hospital established by the Jesuits [? Catholics], a spacious brick building, four stories in height, with a church edifice attached. Looking through the gateway of the enclosure, we see a troop of boys in the garden—foundlings, orphans, and some who have been purchased of their parents to be trained for the Church. The interior of the church is small ; it has

[1] *Religion in China* (Second Edition), 1878, Joseph Edkins, D.D., p. 170.

[2] *Our New Way round the World*, 1883, Charles Carleton Coffin, p. 165.

[3] *River of Golden Sand*, 1883, in Memoir of Captain Gill, by Colonel H. Yule, C.B., R.E., p. 102.

marble floors, altars along the walls, poor pictures of scenes in the life of Christ and the Saints, tawdry paper flowers, and a great show of tinsel around the high altar. At one of the side chapels a Chinese youngster is kneeling, kissing the tiles, dipping his fingers in the holy water, and making the sign of the cross. The prayers are in Latin—just about as intelligible to these children as Cherokee or Choctaw. As it is not necessary for the worshipper to understand what he is mumbling, he might as well repeat a stanza from Mother Goose. And yet, for all this, Romanism is doing a work in China which will be more clearly seen hence than at the present time—that of bringing the people to acknowledge the existence of one God. The great advantages obtained by the French priests—the adroitness, energy, perseverance, unflagging zeal, and wealth of the Church on account of the restoration of property confiscated two hundred years ago—all these combined influences will go far toward making Catholicism the dominant religion of the Empire. In this hospital we have a good illustration of the far-sightedness of the Catholic clergy. They have great schemes for the future. These children have been forsaken by fathers and mothers, and the priests have taken them up. They will be trained for the Church; will have a livelihood, which in this country is an important matter, and their power will soon be felt as teachers, priests, and missionaries throughout the land."[1]

The authority for all this is not stated; nor do we gather even, how Mr Coffin satisfied himself that the prayers of the child in question were in Latin, or that he did not understand them if they were. Still, "Romanism" must be doing a work in China, if it can satisfactorily lead people to acknowledge the existence of one God, with Whom they commune in prayers they do not understand; eventuating as priests, teachers, and missionaries, for the conversion of their country!

[1] *Our New Way round the World*, pp. 355-6.

Nevertheless, it would seem that some, at least, get to understand what they say—even in Latin. Professor Parker remarks, in a review of the Journal of Father Ly—a Chinese priest who kept it in Latin, 1746-1763 :—"It may be thought remarkable that a simple Chinese priest should keep his diary in almost faultless Latin; but it is the practice, and a very convenient one where so many conflicting dialects and languages are spoken, for all Chinese converts of the higher education to speak Latin, and to correspond in that language with Europeans of all nationalities."[1]

About 1871, Baron de Hübner—a Catholic—visited the Jesuit school and orphanage at Sû-kia-wei. He tells us that "the scholars pass through a course of classical studies in the Chinese sense, and learn every kind of useful knowledge. The orphans are taught all sorts of trades. Each of these young men, on returning to his family, will bring back with him the germs of a new civilisation. Everybody, fathers and students, seemed gay and happy and in good health. The Superior would not let us go without having improvised a little concert. Under the direction of a Chinese father, four of the students began to play a symphony of Haydn's. The reverend director of the orchestra, with a huge pair of spectacles on his nose, directed, cheered, and with bâton and eye kept time and guided these juvenile *virtuosi*, who, fixing their little eyes on the music, and perspiring from every pore, managed to perform very satisfactorily one of the finest compositions of this great master. Haydn performed in China, and by Chinese! Why be ashamed to own it? We were all greatly touched and pleased."[2]

The same gentleman mentions also the "Museum of Natural History," at the P'ei-t'ang [Catholic Cathedral] in Peking, "which is unique of its kind, and made by

[1] *The English Historical Review*, April 1907.

[2] *A Ramble round the World*, 1874, M. le Baron de Hübner, vol ii., p. 195.

the learned Abbé David, a Lazarist. The objects it contains come mainly from the province of Che-Li. The ornithological part of this rich collection is the most appreciated by the learned."[1]

In 1872 we learn from H.M. Consul at Shanghai that the "Romanist missionaries . . . rely mainly upon educational means for securing adherents, and although the process must necessarily be a slow one, yet the results, when these come to exhibit themselves, are certainly more satisfactory, as regards the number and permanency of the conversions."[2]

In 1874, M. Piassetsky is at the Jesuit establishment at Shanghai. "One of the fathers came to meet us, and offered to show us over the establishment, which is as useful as it is interesting. It takes in foundlings, orphans, children of all ages, from new-born babes to those nearly grown up, and has been established for some years. Apart from Chinese, they also teach French and Latin, besides a general notion of other subjects, but principally philosophy and theology. Neither are trade and the arts by any means neglected. We were shown the carpenter's, locksmith's, and shoemaker's workshops, and the studio for painting and wood-carving, the last entirely devoted to religious subjects, intended for the Chinese churches and their members. The young Chinamen who worked in it were quite European in their manner, and it must be owned that some of them by no means resembled the Chinese type, which made their origin a subject for reflection. The reverend father conducted us to the observatory, where he showed us a rather complicated instrument, I confess to never having heard of—the meteorograph of Father Angelo Secchi."[3]

In 1883, Mr Colquhoun remarks concerning the

[1] *A Ramble round the World*, 1874, M. le Baron de Hübner, vol. ii., p. 265.

[2] *The Foreigner in Far Cathay*, 1872, W. H. Medhurst, pp. 33-4.

[3] *Russian Travellers in Mongolia and China*, 1884, P. Piassetsky, vol. i., p. 149.

river at Canton :—"The only existing map of the river, and indeed of South China—with the exception of the portion between Canton and Wu-chau, which was surveyed in 1859 by Lieut. Bullock, R.N.—are the Chinese maps, the only reliable portions of which are from Jesuit surveys." It appears that the principal data in the *Ta-ching-yi-t'ung-chih* (Imperial Gazeteer), commenced in 1862 and completed in 1869, were also derived from the same source.[1]

Dr Wells Williams observes "that within the last twenty years, not only have the theological schools of the Romish missions increased, so that eighteen were open in 1859, but with the introduction of the Sisters of Charity, many thousands of young children are taught needlework, reading, and various handicrafts to prepare them for useful lives. These schools exert a widespread and lasting influence."[2]

Appreciation from unexpected quarters is always pleasant. Dr Fortescue Fox relates that "an old resident, now a pilot on the great river, although stating that he considered the only sin of his life to have been the subscribing, when a child, to the missionary box, yet even he bore testimony to the excellent educational work carried on by some French Catholic missionaries in Central China."[3]

Dr Fortescue Fox, himself, found that "valuable educational work is being carried on at Hankow, and other places ; and as regards the French hospitals and medical charities, these, so far as the writer's observation went, are well administered and much appreciated."[4]

From the students' quarters of the British Legation in Peking :—"Our leading teacher belonged to a watch-making family, and was therefore a Roman

[1] *Across Chrysé*, 1883, Archibald R. Colquhoun, p. 59.

[2] *The Middle Kingdom* (Revised Edition), 1883, S. Wells Williams, LL.D., vol. ii., p. 310.

[3] *Observations in China*, 1884, Fortescue Fox, M.B. (Lond.), p. 22.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Catholic, seeing that the watchmakers in Peking are, with few or no exceptions, descended from the pupils and proselytes of the old Jesuits."[1]

"The value of a series of scientific or other books for the Chinese," Mr John Fryer told the Missionary Conference of 1890, "depends greatly on the extent to which definite rules for terminology are maintained throughout. This principle was evidently well understood by the Jesuit missionaries. I have sought in vain for vocabularies of their scientific terms in Latin and Chinese; but in all their works that have come under my notice the terminology is as nearly perfect as can be imagined. This, perhaps, goes far to account for the great favour with which they are still regarded by native scholars, even up to the present day."[2]

Lord Charles Beresford visited "a French Jesuit mission at Shanghai, a most powerful organisation that has done grand work in China, particularly in connection with science."[3] "To this mission is attached a museum of Natural History, etc., and an astronomical and meteorological observatory. In connection with the latter there is a time-ball on the French Bund [Quay], and the Fathers hope to introduce Marconi's system of wireless telegraphy between Sicawei, Shanghai, and Woosung for signalling purposes. Under the direction of this institution, a complete system of meteorological observations, embracing the whole of the China Seas, is now carried out."[4]

A staple industry of Ch'êngtu, it appears, is weaving, and in the "Religion Guild" (Roman Catholic converts) there are 500 looms. "The Roman Catholic mission has done much to introduce foreign patterns."[5]

[1] *Where Chineses drive*, 1885, T. A. D., p. 70.

[2] *Records of the Missionary Conference, Shanghai*, 1890, p. 537.

[3] *The Break-up of China*, 1899, Lord Charles Beresford, pp. 113-4.

[4] *European Settlements in the Far East*, 1900, D. W. S., p. 112.

[5] *Report by Consul-General Hosie on Province of Sz'chwan*, China (5), 1904, p. 91.

In any consideration of Catholic missions in China the work done by the nuns—European and Chinese—ought not to be omitted. Unfortunately, although they conduct orphanages, schools, and hospitals, very little unofficial information is on record concerning their work.

In 1858, Dr Edkins visited the school at Ningpo "for deserted children of the female sex. There were seventy of them at the time enjoying its privileges. . . . Buildings new and very extensive. Seven French Sisters of Mercy conducted the school . . . received us most kindly, and permitted us to inspect the whole establishment. They appeared to be much attached to the children, whose apartments were well supplied with crucifixes and pictures of the Virgin. The Sisters wore their regular costume of black serge, which looked very uncomfortable . . . showed us the graves of some of their companions in the adjacent garden. They informed us that they did not employ native schoolmasters or schoolmistresses to instruct the children in reading, but they learned the Chinese written characters themselves, and then taught their scholars. The Sisters proved to us their competence by reading some passages in a simple Chinese style from the Christian class-books used in the school. Attached to the establishment is a free dispensary for the neighbouring poor."[1]

Baron de Hübner has already told us of the Orphanage of *Les Religieuses Auxiliatrices des Âmes du Purgatoire.* "By a special favour, we were admitted into the boarding-school, which is generally closed to men. It is a large court surrounded with little rooms, where grouped according to their ages (which are from five to sixteen), these young girls receive an education suited to their position in the world. They all looked well and happy, and were simply but nicely dressed. One set, their books in their hands, were repeating

[1] *Religion in China*, p. 170.

their lessons out loud; others were doing needlework; and some few, magnificent embroidery."[1]

Of Chinese nuns, the Baron remarks:—"They are very holy, and do a great deal of good, but they need constant direction. . . . As regards the women, the first duties of the apostolate are confided to the native Sisters. They proceed, like the catechumens, gathering together the women and young girls in some friendly house, explaining to them the fundamental dogmas of our faith, and awakening in their minds a desire for conversion. That is the moment for the missionary to step in, to complete the instruction, and confer baptism."[2]

"The Sisters," continues M. de Hübner, "are everywhere surrounded by the affection and veneration of the people. At Ning-po, for instance, natives of all classes salute them respectfully whenever they appear, and the poor boatmen at the great ferry refuse to accept money from them. (This fact was confirmed to me by a Protestant Englishman resident at Ning-po.)"[3]

In 1885, Major Knollys tells us of an Italian institution in Hankow, in which city his "wise and learned informant, Dr Begg, son of the eminent Scotch Nonconformist divine" had "endeavoured to befriend in turn the Protestant and Dissenting institutions, but finally attached himself to the Roman Catholic Mission." Sorella Carolina conducts the Major through wards which, though they "would, perhaps, have barely met with approbation in England, in China were a marvel of comfort and cleanliness. . . . Loyally and freely did she show me every corner, answering in detail all my questions, and even encouraging me to seek confirmation of her replies from other Sisters. . . . The interior arrangements of the convent were of that severely simple nature

[1] *Ramble round the World*, vol. ii., p. 196.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 424-5. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 439.

characteristic of similar religious seminaries; the Sisters had allowed for themselves few comforts and comparatively little extra cubic space, notwithstanding that the plea of extreme heat is elsewhere universally accepted. Then I was conducted into room after room full of Chinese children, and it was explained to me that one of the functions of the place is a foundling hospital. . . . I inspect room after room full of children, busily, eagerly, and—putting aside the feet abomination—happily employed in all the stages of weaving, spinning, and needlework, from the simple operation of passing the threads from right to left to the climax of silk embroidery, which even a clumsy man devoid of taste can perceive to be of extraordinary skill and beauty. Then the little creatures are so proud of their work, so eager that I should examine and scrutinise the labours of each separately. The instructors, about seventeen in number, and all Italian Sisters, have furnished another instance of religious zeal surmounting mountainous difficulties. They are fully purposed to devote the whole of their young lives to the most practical and least alluring forms of God's service, so they do not carry out the undertaking by halves—they have actually learned to speak Chinese. . . . 'Now, Madre Superiore, and Sorella Carolina, I admit you have given me the fullest latitude to investigate every detail of your foundling establishment. Will you explain to me the outline of your system? In more definite terms, in seeking to spread Christianity, how and where do you start with your task, and what is your subsequent guiding principle?' Reply :—'How: by taking in hand the pliable twig, *i.e.*, childhood, and ignoring the gnarled, hardened, obstinate old tree. Where: in the very thick of this city, the most populous district in China, of which these numerous twigs are part and parcel, and whose leaven must, in time, leaven the whole lump. On what principle: so to train these children, so to free them from their countrymen's

abominations, so to render them exemplifications, moral and physical, of the blessings of Christianity, that in grown-up age they may unconsciously become apostles, who will turn the folly of vice and superstition to the wisdom of our Saviour's religion.' 'Amen. Thank you. God speed you in your efforts.'"[1]

"During the Tai-Ping rebellion in China some years back," says Mr Lynch, "the Roman Catholic nuns suffered dreadfully at the hands of the Chinese, in consequence of which all Catholic missions under the charge of nuns were fortified, to prevent, if possible, a repetition of the outrages previously perpetrated. This soldier-like method of protecting the missions caused the missionaries of other denominations to observe sarcastically that the Catholics were wont to partly fortify houses from which to preach the Gospel. Nevertheless, when trouble came, all those Protestants who could, were glad to take advantage of the protection thus offered to them by the Catholics. Moreover, in many instances, the Catholic Fathers sent word to all missionaries, irrespective of denominations, to come to them for shelter if in danger of molestation from the Chinese. . . . At Jung-Ting-Foo . . . the Roman Catholic chapel possessed a small tower, and the Chinese believed that in this tower guns were mounted (which was not true) . . . thus they deemed it best to leave these premises severely alone. This mission extended its protection not only to many Protestant missionaries, but also to several railway engineers, etc."[2]

The wisdom of thus protecting nuns—who, in the Catholic Church, still belong to the weaker sex—is amply justified by events. Among the missionaries massacred at Pao-Ting-Foo, in 1900, were "two unfortunate American ladies, Miss G—— and Miss

[1] *English Life in China*, 1885, Major Henry Knollys, R.A., pp. 164-178.

[2] *The War of the Civilisations*, 1901, George Lynch, pp. 199-200.

M——. These ladies were taken from their houses, stripped of their clothing, and carried, suspended by the hair and feet, from bamboos borne on the shoulders of coolies to the city gates. On their arrival, Miss G—— was found to be dead; but poor Miss M——, having a stronger constitution, lived to be made to march naked through the streets of the city, followed by a jeering and insulting mob, and afterwards taken outside the gates, her breasts cut off, and then her head."[1]

We close with the following comment by Lord Granville on Article 2 of the Missionary circular of 1871—"That women ought no longer to enter the churches, nor should Sisters of Charity live in China to teach religion . . . as the Chinese Government are most probably aware, that there are no Sisters of Charity attached to British missionary societies, but H.M. Government cannot countenance any regulation which would cast a slur upon a Sisterhood, whose blameless lives and noble acts of devotion in the cause of humanity are known throughout the world."[2]

[1] *War of the Civilisations*, p. 205.

[2] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1872, p. 19.

CHAPTER VII

VARIOUS MATTERS—CONCLUSION

Among other matters of complaint in the Missionary circular of 1871 were those connected with official rank. This, the Catholic missionaries were said to have assumed, with all its *insignia* and privileges. "The instances given of the offences complained of are not numerous," wrote the British Minister to Wên Siang, "and the venue is laid in the remote provinces of Kwei-chow and Sze-chuen."[1]

This complaint was entirely waived by the grant of official rank by the Chinese Government itself. On 15th March 1899, the *Tsung-li Yamên* issued a Memorandum by which "Bishops rank with Governors-General and Governors. They may ask for interviews with these officers. If a Bishop vacates his post on account of sickness, or returns to his country, the priest who acts for him can also ask for interviews with a Governor-General and Governor. Pro-vicaires and head-priests can ask for interviews with Treasurers, Judges, and Tao-tais. Other priests can ask for interviews with Prefects and Magistrates. The Chinese officials of all ranks will return the courtesies in accordance with the rank of the priest. . . . All those priests who ask for interviews must be Westerns, and those specially deputed to transact such business must be Westerns; but in cases in which the Western priest cannot speak Chinese, a Chinese priest may interpret."[2]

[1] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1872, p. 15.

[2] *Ibid.* (1), 1900, p. 142.

This was intended by the Chinese Government, Mr Michie remarks, to help settlement on the spot of difficulties, thus avoiding appeals to the Central Government. It has not done this, because an important section of missionaries decline to avail themselves of the concession, which implies a hierarchy which only Catholic missions possess.[1] "The missions of the Anglican Communion and other Protestant Churches have unanimously refused to ask for any similar privileges," says Dr Hawks-Pott.[2]

"The Imperial Rescript of 15th March 1899, whereby China granted official rank to the Roman Catholic Hierarchy . . . has been cancelled. The rescript at the time was not received with entire favour; it has since been condemned by devout Roman Catholics, has frequently been abused, and has led to frequent difficulties, for it gave higher rank to missionaries than to the consular representatives of the countries whose subjects they were, or by whom they were protected."[3]

Some interest attaches to the P'ei-t'ang, as the Catholic Cathedral in Peking is called, both on account of its removal to its present site, and of its siege by the Boxers.

The original site was granted to the Catholic missionaries by the Emperor Kang-Hsi (1661-1721) in recognition of their scientific services. It was "well within the Imperial City."[4] There seem to have been negotiations for its removal in 1874 which came to nothing.[5] Those of 1885 were more successful; and the following account of them was given to Mr Savage-Landor by the late Mgr. Favier, Vicar-Apostolic of

[1] *The Englishman in China*, 1900, Alexander Michie, vol. ii., p. 248.

[2] *The Outbreak in China*, 1900, Rev. F. L. Hawks-Pott, D.D., p. 108.

[3] *The Times*, 15th April 1908.

[4] Parliamentary Paper, China (1), 1874, p. 2.

[5] *The Englishman in China*, vol. ii., p. 342.

Peking, who received high official rank from the Chinese Government for his services in the matter :—

In 1885 the question of the P'ei-t'ang was again brought forward. The young Emperor had come of age. He was about to be married, and to assume the reins of his Empire. The Empress-Dowager was, according to custom, expected to leave the palace to make room for the new Empress. This she seemed willing to do, were a suitable abode provided for her in the picturesque Nan-hae adjoining the palace. This meant that the fine buildings, the Lotus Ponds, and lovely white Marble Bridge would become her private property, and it was apparent that the P'ei-t'ang with the houses around it, wherein lived thousands of Chinese, were also needed for Imperial houses and grounds. By paying a due compensation, some £6 for each room, the houses were seized and demolished, the Marble Bridge was closed to the public, and fine palaces built on the edge of the Lotus Pond. In the case of the P'ei-t'ang, the Chinese seemed ready to deal honourably and even handsomely. They recognised that the land was a gift from the Emperor Kang-si to the Catholics, who had gone to much expense to put up the various buildings, and, moreover, that were they to move elsewhere, it would appear that they had been turned out of the Imperial City by order of the Emperor. The Christians, who had always been (*sic*) on friendly terms with the Empire, might thus be brought into disrepute in the eyes of the populace. The Chinese Government instructed Li Hung-chang to carry out the transfer "in a way that seemed profitable to the Catholics."

The Chinese offered to give in exchange for the P'ei-t'ang the Si-Che-ku, a piece of land larger than the P'ei-t'ang, and also within the walls of the Imperial City. They promised to pay for the reconstruction of every necessary building, and proposed to publish in the *Peking Gazette* an edict to inform every person in China that the transaction was a mere friendly ex-

change, and not meant as a slight on the Catholics. In fact, the façade of the new church was decorated with the characters *Ta-che-kien, i.e.*, built by order of the Emperor. Two Imperial yellow pavilions would be erected in front of the new cathedral, as well as tablets of white marble to perpetuate the memory of the friendly exchange. M. Constans, the French Minister, completed the necessary negotiations, with the approval of the Pope, and all parties interested. No part of the church was to reach a greater height than fifty feet, nor was the bell-tower to be higher than the church. The Chinese behaved gracefully in the transaction; and, to the astonishment of everybody, even removed an ancient pagoda, which would have somewhat obscured the view of the new cathedral. The foundations were laid 30th May 1887, the old P'ei-t'ang was given over to the *Tsung-li Yamên* in December, the new one was finished and consecrated 8th December 1888.[1]

Twelve years later, Mgr. Favier had the unusual experience—if anything can be described as unusual in China—for a Christian bishop, of having to turn the P'ei-t'ang into a fortress, and stand a siege. "The greater part of those besieged [3400] consisted of children from the male and female orphanages. A body of volunteers was formed by the Fathers from all the adult converts who were capable of bearing arms," says Mr Lynch. "They provided spears for them, made by fastening knives to the end of long poles; and in addition to these weapons, they were possessed of forty marine rifles, and seven or eight muskets. . . . Much has been written about the gallant defence of the Legations, as public attention was naturally focussed on them, but the siege of the Legations was almost child's play compared with the siege of the garrison at the P'ei-t'ang. The regular troops defending the mission consisted only of thirty French and twelve Italians who,

[1] *China and the Allies*, 1901, A. Henry Savage-Landor, vol. ii., pp. 215-6-7.

at the last moment, had been spared from the Legation guards."[1] "The houses in the compound were mined. Fire-balls were thrown on the roofs. In one day, 700 cannon-balls, each weighing 25 lbs., were hurled into the compound. In one mine twenty-five of the defenders were killed, and twenty-eight wounded."[2] Rev. Lord William Cecil visited the place in 1907, and remarked:—"Three times did the Chinese mine their fortifications. Once the mine was well placed, and it shattered their weak wall of defence, and wrecked the orphanage, killing forty babies. The awful crater that the explosion made can still be seen. By what seemed to the small band of defenders to be almost a miracle, the Chinese never dared enter through the breach, though their soldiers could be reckoned by the ten thousand, and there were only forty-two rifles to man the shattered wall of defence, and these rifles were no longer all held by Europeans."[3]

"The façade of the cathedral, when we saw it," says 'Griselda,' "was still riddled by shot. Inside the building, however, a Chinese priest was officiating, and Chinese converts were praying as placidly as though Christians had never been persecuted in China. . . . 3000 native converts had been included among the besieged. 'Whatever could they have fed on? that is what puzzles me.' We had left the cathedral, and passed into the grounds through the mission buildings. There A——'s problem was solved with pathetic realism, for all the trees were stripped of their bark, and had the most piteous skinned appearance that was eloquent in explaining the wretched diet of the miserable refugees."[4] And so, "starvation loomed close, carrion dogs feeding on dead Boxers were eagerly chased, killed, and eaten, and

[1] *The War of the Civilisations*, 1901, George Lynch, p. 94.

[2] *China and Her People*, 1906, Hon. Charles Denby, LL.D., vol. i., pp. 231-2.

[3] "Missions in China," *National Review*, December 1907, p. 572.

[4] *The Globular Jottings of Griselda*, 1907, E. Douglas Hume, pp. 391-2.

the leaves of trees and roots of plants came to be considered palatable food."[1]

It is noteworthy that, at the same moment as some of the representatives of the highly civilised nations of Europe were—as we have already been told—proposing to turn the native Christians out of the British Legation compound, to take their chance among the Boxers, on account of the difficulty of feeding them, the Catholic Chinese should have been invited to do the same to the Europeans in the P'ei-t'ang, and refused to do so. "'You Christians shut up in the P'ei-t'ang,' ran one of the numerous messages, arrow-sent into the middle of this shot-riddled, mine-shattered, half-starved community, 'reduced to dire misery, eating the leaves of trees, why do you so obstinately resist when you can do nothing? We have cannon and mines, and can blow you all up in a short time. You are deceived by the devils of Europe; return to the ancient religion of the *Fu*, hand over Mgr. Favier and the rest, and your lives will be saved, and we will supply you with food. If you do not do this, your women and children will be cut to pieces.' . . . Of all the Christian converts within the walls of the P'ei-t'ang," continues Mr Lynch, "not one evinced the slightest disposition to respond to the Boxers' reiterated requests to surrender. . . . The rations in the garrison were almost completely exhausted on the day of the relief. For a week previously they had been reduced to two ounces of rice per head per diem. And only two days' rations at this meagre rate remained. I was shown round the mission soon after its relief, by one of the Sisters. The Mother Superior, seventy-eight years of age, who had spent forty years of her life in China, lay dying—a daughter of Count Jaurias, of Chateau Jaurias, near Bordeaux. She had belonged to the Order of Sisters of Charity since her eighteenth year. . . . In the midst of these ruins, these good women, mostly of gentle birth, were striving to recom-

[1] *War of the Civilisations*, p. 97.

mence their labours, and nurse, and teach, and feed the children that remained. But, conversing with them, one perceived underlying their heroic resignation, a strain of very human despondency and disappointment. Their talk here was not of compensation. It was merely of how they could get their ruined mission-house fit for work again—the work for which they had left father and mother and friends in far-off France."[1]

"It is almost a pity," the Bishop sighed, "that we were not all massacred; we should have died martyrs; and it would have spared us the pain of seeing our work of nearly half a century destroyed. Look at our poor, tumbling-down church, our ruined buildings! It is heart-rending, but we have energy, and we will begin again."[2]

Lord William Cecil asked Mgr. Jarlin, who had succeeded Mgr. Favier, at the death of the latter, if he thought that such sufferings as they had undergone in the P'ei-t'ang had not a deterrent effect on the growth of the Church. He answered that "I was mistaken if I thought those inside the P'ei-t'ang the greatest sufferers. 1600 were martyred in his Vicariate alone, many with indescribable tortures. He allowed he had been anxious lest he should find converts afraid to profess their faith after such an ordeal, but he was thankful to say the old adage had come most strictly true: 'the blood of martyrs had been the seed of the Church.'"[3]

"As I shall not return to the subject again," wrote the late Mrs Bishop, "I will briefly refer to four of the causes, in my opinion, of their [the Roman Catholic missions] undoubtedly growing unpopularity in Sze Chuan and elsewhere, in spite of the assistance given to Christian litigants previously referred to.

[1] *War of the Civilisations*, pp. 98-101.
[2] *China and the Allies*, vol. ii., p. 227.
[3] *National Review* (December 1907), pp. 572-3.

I. "The exorbitant indemnity, out of all proportion to the losses sustained, demanded and obtained by M. Gerard, then French Minister at Peking, for damage done to mission property during the riots in Sze Chuan in 1895."[1] On this subject we may be permitted to remark that there are few things that give rise to so much controversy as "damages," the amount of which, naturally, appears in quite a different light to the parties concerned; besides which, "French mission claims generally comprise compensation to native Christians,"[2] who, as we have seen, are the first to suffer, and are not likely to be compensated otherwise.

II. "The claim of the Roman hierarchy (now [1899] conceded) to be placed on a level in position with the higher mandarins as to the number of their chair-bearers, etc., and the amount of personal reverence exacted by the clergy from a people essentially democratic.

III. "The non-admission of the heathen into Roman churches during the celebration of Mass and other services, while the secrecy which attends the administration of the last rites of the Church is undoubtedly obnoxious to the lower orders among the Chinese, who have no conceptions of privacy.

IV. "The opposite methods pursued by Protestants of all denominations, since their settlement in the far West, a few years ago, are doubtless working against the practices of the Roman missionaries."[3]

Concerning the non-admission of heathen into the Roman churches:—"As to the question of decorum, Your Excellency is evidently not aware, in the first place, that during service, Christian chapels, Protestant and Romish alike, are open to all, non-Christians as well as Christians, who will conduct themselves so as not

[1] *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 1899, Mrs J. F. Bishop, F.R.G.S., p. 101.

[2] *Sir E. Satow to the Marquis of Lansdowne*, 23rd November 1901, China (6), 1901, p. 88.

[3] *Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, pp. 101-2.

to interrupt the service, that there are no doings in either that any outsider is not free to observe; and that in the Romish places of worship in China, the sexes, out of deference to Chinese feeling on the subject, are generally, if not always separate. I have seen this with my own eyes at Shanghai, and I believe that it is the rule in their chapels elsewhere."[1]

Naturally—considering what the Mass is—"opposite methods" of the following description could not be tolerated:—At Mien-chow, Sze Chuan, "there were two [non-Catholic] services in the guest-hall on Sunday, conducted by Mr——, the Superintendent of the Mission, and several classes for women also, but all in a distracting babel—men playing cards outside the throng, men and women sitting for a few minutes, some laughing scornfully, others talking in loud tones, some lighting their pipes, and a very few really interested."[2]

Nor perhaps this sort of thing:—At Han-Tchong-Fou: "A feast was being celebrated in the [Buddhist] temple that day, and a religious service was taking place . . . the crowd paid no heed to the priests worshipping before the idols, and singing to the accompaniment of most hideous music. Those individuals immediately surrounding me discussed my garments, my boots, and my pencils, going into ecstasies of praise; others pushed and scrambled for places, while some even came to blows; the latter were turned out, principally from deference to me. The policemen, in seeking to restore quiet, brandished their clubs, and banged them against the lanterns and other sacred objects. Such was Chinese piety! Later on, they lit their pipes, on which I ventured to take out a cigarette. One of the priests took a candle from the altar to give me a light, and after remarking what excellent aromatic tobacco it was, proceeded with the service. Two well-dressed Chinese, not priests but

[1] *Mr Wade to Wên Siang*, China (1), 1872, p. 15.
[2] *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, p. 323.

evidently connected with the temple, ordered a table to be brought and tea given to me."[1]

The statement concerning non-admission of heathen to Catholic churches during Mass, etc., seemed, moreover, to the present writer so extraordinary—tending, as it would, if correct, to hinder the object for which alone missionaries go to China—that he consulted a Catholic resident of many years standing in Peking. He was assured that any well-conducted Chinese would be permitted to attend as a matter of course, and that such was the case elsewhere. This same resident was once asked by a high Chinese official why non-Christians were refused admission. The answer was that it was not so, in proof whereof, he was invited to attend on the morrow, with the assurance that an honourable place would be reserved for him. This last was done, but the Chinese gentleman came not.

In reference to the matter of "secrecy," the same seems to be urged by Lord Curzon, who mentions as a difficulty, "the mystery of the Feast of the Holy Sacrament"; and "the privacy of the Confessional," wherein "the foul-minded Chinese critic" only sees "a hypocritical mask for indecency and wrong-doing."[2]

What are the missionaries of the Catholic Church expected to teach in China, or anywhere else, except Catholic doctrine? Are they to water-down the Articles of Faith, merely because those to whom they have been sent do not approve? Is it permitted to affirm the Real Presence in Europe, and deny it in Asia? Can the Church uphold the Sacrament of Penance—with its consequent practice of confession—in the West, and abolish it in the East? The truth seems to be, that She can please no one of the conflicting parties outside Her fold. She teaches definite doctrine and holds to it; She is "intolerant": She concedes matters not

[1] *Russian Travellers in Mongolia and China*, 1884, P. Piassetsky, vol. ii., p. 35.

[2] *Problems of the Far East*, 1894, Hon. G. N. Curzon, M.P., p. 328.

affecting Faith or Morals; and She is charged with "expediency."

The Chinese superstition concerning the Sacrament of Extreme Unction is very old, and interrogatories addressed to Catholic priests by the tribunals have usually included it.

The Hunan Publications tell us that when "native Christians die they will not allow relatives to go near, for they scoop out the eyes to sell for mixing with lead, out of which mixture they extract 8 per cent. of silver."[1] A Chinese thus explained the process of Extreme Unction to Dr Wells Williams:—"It is a custom with priests who teach this religion, when a man is about to die, to take a handful of cotton, having concealed within it a sharp needle, and then, while rubbing the individual's eyes with the cotton, to introduce the needle into the eye, and puncture the pupil with it; the humours of the pupil saturate the cotton, and are afterwards sold as medicine."[2]

As regards the privacy of the administration of the last rites of the Church, a death-bed is hardly the occasion where the person principally concerned might be supposed to be anxious to receive visitors. As if to emphasise this point, a member of the China Inland Mission has given us an account of a Chinese death-bed at which she assisted:—"She is quietly passing away . . . fifteen or twenty people are gathered in the little cottage, talking loudly all the time. . . . They seem to think very lightly of death, laughing quite openly at every little thing, and have only just stopped, at our request, their loud talk about the garments she should wear in the coffin. More and more people come in, and now they begin to smoke, men and women alike. . . . Together we sing softly the Chinese version

[1] *The Hunan Tracts of China*, 1892, "Shocked Friend of China," p. 4.

[2] *The Middle Kingdom* (Revised Edition), 1883, S. Wells Williams, LL.D., vol. ii., p. 356.

of 'Take me as I am,' and she feebly whispers, 'I thank Him for His grace.'" Later:—"Chang-nai-nai is sinking rapidly now. We have made her as comfortable as we can, and when she recognises us, and is able to smile or speak, she seems very grateful. I have been reading here, in these strange surroundings, 1 Cor. xv., and realising with wonder and unspeakable gratitude that it is true." The visitors, meanwhile, discuss the funeral, and suggest that the son of the departing, being poor, will have to take down his house, and build a coffin with the wooden beam of the roof.[1]

Much exception is often taken to the baptism of children *in articulo mortis*. Dr Wells Williams thus delivers himself on the matter:—

"It may, however, be a question, even with a candid Romanist who believes that unbaptised infants perish eternally, whether baptism performed by women and unconsecrated laymen is valid; and still more so whether it is ritual when done by stealth and under false pretences."[2]

The "candid Romanist" had much better learn his penny Catechism properly, and then he will not raise questions of this kind. He will then find that Christ Himself said, "unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God."[3]

To avoid any misunderstanding by non-Catholics, we may briefly say that the Catholic Church does not teach that unbaptised children "perish" in the sense implied by Dr Wells Williams, *i.e.*, go to the place of punishment called Hell, or even to the place of detention and cleansing known as Purgatory. But they will be relegated to a region where, although they will not be subjected to pains of sense like the Lost, and

[1] *In the Far East*, 1889, Letters of Geraldine Guinness of the C.I.M., p. 110.

[2] *The Middle Kingdom* (Revised Edition), 1883, S. Wells Williams, LL.D., vol. ii., p. 311.

[3] John iii. 5.

will enjoy a state of natural happiness, they will be deprived of the vision of God, which constitutes the essential happiness of the Blessed—"cannot enter into the Kingdom of God," in fact.

As to the "stealth and false pretences"—the consent of an infant, of course, being out of the question—it is naturally better to baptise a child *in articulo mortis*, with approval of its parents, if such can be had; but in the face of the plain directions of Jesus Christ, the Catholic Church does not allow that the prejudice or ignorance of a parent have any claim to consideration when the eternal happiness of the soul of his dying child is at stake.

"No attention," continues Dr Wells Williams, "seems to be given to the child in ordinary cases, if it happens to live after this surreptitious baptism."[1] How this is known is not stated; but as the Doctor told us on the preceding page of the introduction of the Sisters of Charity, the many thousands of children under their charge, and of "the widespread and lasting influence" of the schools;[2] it may be hoped that—with the consent of their parents, who have the right, in this case, to refuse it—some, at least, of these children find their way to these schools.

Furthermore:—"The degree of instruction given to the converts is trifling, partly owing to the great extent of a single diocese, and partly to imperfect knowledge of the language on the part of the missionaries. The vexations constantly experienced urge them to be cautious; and truly if a missionary believes that baptism, confirmation, confession, and absolution are all the evidences of faith that are required in a convert to entitle him to salvation, it cannot be supposed that he will deem it necessary to give them long-continued instruction."[3]

It might strike an unprejudiced observer that, if a

[1] *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii., p. 311.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 310. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 311-2.

convert does—and does properly—what is implied in reception of the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, and Penance, he has received no mean course of instruction, and given no small evidence of faith. But let us inquire what is the effect of it and the Sacraments mentioned; and Dr Wells Williams himself shall tell us: ". . . many of their converts also exhibit the greatest constancy in their profession, preferring to suffer persecution, torture, imprisonment, banishment, and death, rather than to deny their faith, though every inducement of prevarication and mental reservation was held out to them by the magistrates, in order to avoid the necessity of proceeding to extreme measures. If undergoing the loss of all things is an evidence of piety, many of them have abundantly proved their title to this virtue."[1] It is difficult to see what more they could have done; and many people who could have made so generous a tribute to heroism such as this, would also have contrived to see some good in the Faith which inspired and strengthened its votaries to accomplish so much. Not so Dr Wells Williams, who thinks that, until the Catholic Church conforms to his ideas of what is becoming, "the mass of converts to Romanism in China can hardly be considered as much better than baptised Pagans."[2]

We may now record a few passing impressions of native converts on casual travellers.

In 1870, Mr Williamson, travelling in Shan-si, "had an interesting conversation with some native Romanists at the inn where they visited us. It was pleasant to find one of these men especially clear and full in his answers to questions upon the great Christian truths. His views of the person and work of the Saviour were all that could be desired, and we joyfully recognised in him the faith and spirit of a true believer. Protestants would have little reason to complain of Popery, if all the converts made by the Roman Church were so

[1] *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii., pp. 317-8. [2] *Ibid.*

trained. Yet this man alas! had never seen any portion of the Scriptures."[1]

In 1871, Baron de Hübner—a Catholic—gives an account of his visit to the Christian settlements of Se-non. "'Let us go there,' I exclaim. 'Impossible,' answers one of the guests of the consul. 'Difficult,' says another, 'it is a perfect nest of pirates. When we go there, which is very rarely, we are very numerous and armed to the teeth. This winter, again, an English gunboat has tried to purge those inner seas. The only result was the capture of a junk, which had been purposely wrecked and abandoned by the pirates. . . . Give up the idea of visiting the Se-non district.' At these words the Père Raimondi smiled, and said to me: 'I will take you there, and I will answer for your safety.'

"The day before yesterday, accordingly, in the morning, we started for Se-non, Father Raimondi, a Chinese Father who speaks Latin fluently, and I. . . . During three days we lived and travelled with an apostolic simplicity in that wild country, and in the midst of a population of pirates, who, nevertheless, begin to improve, inasmuch as the Christians have all renounced brigandage. We passed the first night in arrived at Ting-kok, the most important point in the the Christian village of Si-Kung; and the next day on a little island called San-ting-say, all the inhabitants of which have received baptism. In the evening we Se-non mission. The Fathers possess a comparatively spacious house there, of which the salubrity would be perfect, without a curtain of trees which prevents the western breeze from bringing a little freshness to it. The superstition of such of the inhabitants as have remained pagan would not allow of their making gaps in the wood. It would displease the spirits. The new Christians already laugh at the alarms and ignorance of

[1] *Journeys in North China*, 1870, Rev. Alexander Williamson, B.A., vol. i., p. 317.

their unbaptised brethren. This little trait struck me. . . . The other Christian villages each have a little chapel, ornamented or not with a cross, according to the favourable or hostile disposition of the population, and flanked by a miserable little room, which serves as a shelter to the priest during his numerous visits. . . . The Christian community of this island is not very numerous; but what good faces! Here, as in all the other Christian settlements, our arrival produced a certain sensation. People flocked around us from all quarters. The men went into the missionary's room; the women, many of them mothers with babies slung on their backs, passed in file before the door without crossing the threshold. All knelt and asked for a blessing. Now I understand the influence and moral ascendency of the Fathers. They live amongst their people,—know, share, and console them in their sufferings. The Se-non district reckons above 600,000 inhabitants. . . . Father Borghinoli, of Verona, was the first to establish himself here in 1863. To-day there are above 600 Christians. In this number I do not include children of the *Sainte Enfance*, that is, the babies picked up in the streets, or brought to the orphanages. Of late years they reckon annually about one hundred conversions, which is considered a very good result; only all these converts belong to the lower orders. Two European Fathers of the Hong-Kong mission reside alternately in the thirteen Christian villages which constitute the mission of Se-non. The tao-tai of the district resides at Nam-tao. Without favouring the missionaries, he condescends to ignore their presence. On a recent occasion he has even indirectly acknowledged their merit, by exhorting his subjects in a proclamation to give their children to the Fathers, rather than to kill or expose them."[1]

In another place M. de Hübner tells us what he gathered concerning Chinese converts—or some of

[1] *A Ramble round the World*, 1874, M. le Baron de Hübner, vol. ii., pp. 373-7.

them. "The Chinese neophytes are rarely fervent; but they remain faithful, especially as long as they remain in their native villages. Those who travel a great deal, and remain a long time absent from home, or settle in pagan towns, lose their faith very often, without, however, publicly apostatising. The old Chinese Christians are devoted to their religion. In Sze-chuen, where they are very numerous, they have a sense of their own importance, and defend themselves vigorously, sometimes with arms in their hands, against the persecutions of the 'literates.'"[1]

Of the Sz'ch'wanese Catholics Baron Richtofen wrote, in 1872:—"Whenever I arrived at a place where there lived some of them, they would come to confess frankly their Faith before any assembled crowd. I got the impression that they are true and devoted Christians, but that besides the religion they have a profound veneration for everything connected with Europe."[2]

About 1874, M. Piassetsky was at Han-Tchong-Fou—the scene of his experiences in the Buddhist temple, previously referred to:—"A Chinaman who was walking along the river [the Upper Han], having seen us in the boat, bowed in the most polite manner and took off his hat, which is a thing the Chinese never do. . . . Seeing that we could not understand much of what he said, he next pointed to a cross round his neck, which showed that he was a Christian . . . a doctor, and had embraced Christianity twelve years ago. . . . Two well-dressed young Chinamen made their way through the crowd to speak to us, and not being able to make themselves understood, they made the sign of the cross. . . . We went to the church where service was taking place. On the left were twelve Chinese women on their knees, on the right twenty-five men singing at the pitch of their voices. It would not have been discreet to inquire into the number of native Christians,

[1] *A Ramble round the World*, vol. ii., p. 425.

[2] *Letter to Shanghai Chamber of Commerce*, No. vii., 1872, p. 48.

but the mission did not seem to make much progress, Christianity in China appearing to be a mere matter of gain, and only embraced from interested motives."[1]

At Yung-hsing-ch'ang, says Mr Hosie—then Consular Agent at Ch'ung-k'ing—a solitary Chinese who was some 200 yards in advance of the crowd, dropped on his knees as we passed, and wished "the scholar, a prosperous voyage (*schên fu p'ing an—schên fu* being the term usually applied to Roman Catholic missionaries). He was doubtless a Catholic, and mistook me for a missionary."[2]

In 1889, Mr Pratt was engaged in scientific research at Ta-tsien-lu where, "my collectors were all Christians, brought up from childhood by the Bishop and the Fathers, and were in a much more civilised state than the Buddhist Tibetans and mixed Chinese, who refused to work for me."[3]

Finally, Major Knollys, R.A., gives us the impressions produced by the work of the Catholic missions in China, thus:—"Compared with Protestants it has prospered, and even absolutely it has achieved a fair amount of apparent success. But I doubt if the roots have really struck deep, if they would survive the slightest intermission of labour, or the slightest tension from persecution. Their teachers have carried the doctrine of expediency too far, etc. etc."[4] So much for theory, now for practice:—Says Mrs Archibald Little, "Of those who have been converted, I have come across thousands of Roman Catholics who have borne the burning of their houses, and the devastation of their property. There were 400 Roman Catholic refugees in Chung-king in the summer of 1898. Not a few have been killed. And in the West of China several cases

[1] *Russian Travellers in Mongolia and China*, 1884, P. Piassetsky, vol. ii., pp. 17-21-31.

[2] Parliamentary Paper, China (2), 1884, p. 31.

[3] *To the Snows of Tibet through China*, 1892, A. E. Pratt, F.R.G.S., p. 135.

[4] *English Life in China*, 1885, Major Henry Knollys, R.A., p. 201.

have occurred where men have been offered their lives if they would burn incense upon Buddhist altars, and have refused and been martyred. I do not know how converts could more prove their sincerity than by thus dying."[1]

And this is corroborated by Mrs Pruen, of the China Inland Mission. "As regards U-man-tz's proclamation [1898], the best comment on it is the following incident communicated to us before the rebellion was stopped. A Protestant missionary sent a native agent out from Chung-king to collect news, who returned in a few days to tell that he reached a market-town near U-man-tz's region, when a crowd were urging an aged Roman Catholic couple to recant, but both husband and wife bravely said, 'We have trusted Christ a long time, and we will not deny him.' Thereupon they were immediately beheaded."[2]

Again, during the Boxer Rising of 1900—on the same authority. At Tai-yuen, seventy Christians were brought before the Governor of the Province after the massacre of the missionaries; to whom H. E.—"'You rebellious subjects! I have killed the foreigners, now you must give up the foreign religion.' To which the elders replied, 'We are trusting the Lord Jesus to save us from our sins, we cannot deny him.' They were condemned to die, but recalled, and H. E. said, 'Why will you die? you are Chinese people, and I do not want to kill you.' But they replied, 'We are trusting in the Saviour to save us for ever, we cannot forsake him.' Again condemned, they are again recalled, and some of the younger members of the band exclaimed, 'We will not recant.' They are sent to the gate. On reaching it the Governor said, 'Pick out those two maidens.' They happened to be Roman Catholics, about seventeen years old, and immediately they were beheaded.

[1] *Intimate China*, 1899, Mrs Archibald Little, p. 171.

[2] *The Provinces of Western China*, 1906, Mrs Pruen (of the C.I.M.), p. 180.

Their blood was caught in a basin, and mixed with water, of which the remaining sixty-eight were made to take a sip, after which they were liberated."[1]

This concludes the story of the Catholic Church in China from 1860-1907, as gathered almost entirely from non-Catholic sources. The results of the efforts of Her missionaries will be found in the ensuing tables. Encouraging as these may seem, it has to be remembered that, be the population of the Empire 300 millions, as given by some, or 450 millions as estimated by others, what has been accomplished hitherto is but a fraction of the work remaining to be done.

But, if China is ever to be Christianised in the true sense, it can only be by a united Christian Church, the component items of which must teach the same doctrine and inculcate the same practice. Anything short of this will add to the other "blessings of civilisation" with which we have endowed her, either a profound religious scepticism, or an internecine warfare of conflicting sects, both of which may be seen in operation in the West.

How then is such unity to be arrived at? The late Mr Alexander Michie tells us that to organise any deliberative assembly to consider a Concordat would be "a revolutionary innovation on their traditional methods of procedure," for the Chinese: while for the "foreign missions, it would not be a very simple matter to concentrate effective authority on any selected representatives"—and this latter the events of the last few years have abundantly proved.

Wherefore, though Mr Michie's standpoint is not ours, we nevertheless arrive at the same conclusion:—"Other hope failing, therefore, it seems to be after all to the Vatican and its disciplined agents that the Christian world will have to look, if anywhere, for extrication from its dilemma in China; for, having

[1] *The Provinces of Western China*, pp. 210-1.

been repulsed elsewhere, it is to that quarter that the Imperial Government would naturally address itself, if the personal and national schemes of foreign diplomatists would but permit it so much liberty of action."[1]

[1] *China and Christianity*, 1900, Alexander Michie, p. 176.

APPENDIX

A.—In this will be found statistics of the missions referred to in the foregoing work. They have been obtained in every instance from China; and in most cases by the favour of the Right Reverend Vicars-Apostolic themselves, for the purposes of this book. The compiler desires to testify to his gratitude to their Lordships for such invaluable assistance.

No attempt has been made to total this Table. The numbers do not in all cases refer to the same date; nor has the information been always given in the same form. Its principal object is to show the magnitude and extent of the operations of the Catholic Church in China.

B, *C*, and *D* are derived from statistics gathered by Père de Moidrey, S.J., of Zi-ka-wei (Shanghai), to whom, as well as his colleagues, grateful thanks are tendered for permission to utilise the results of their labours.

B contains a summary of the personnel employed in the Catholic Missions in the Far East in 1907—the latest available.

C presents an account of Christians (Catholic) by Provinces, and the percentage of the whole Catholic Body in China formed by each.

D gives the latest existing conspectus of the Chinese Catholics by Vicariates. It refers to 1907. For sufficient reasons all missions do not report at the same date. It is, nevertheless, totalled, as being the best obtainable at present. No attempt is made to give the actual total of baptisms, as it is not known with any accuracy, *e.g.*, many children, baptised during absence of a missionary, are not registered, etc. The same is given for Korea and Japan.

E shortly summarises *B* and *D* in a form easy to be remembered.

F.—Statistics of Protestant Missions in China, 1905.

NOTE.—In the Appendix the orthography adopted by the Chinese Imperial Post Office has been employed.

TABLE A

Statistics of Catholic Missions in China, by Vicariates.

(*In most cases from information supplied by the Vicars-Apostolic.*)

PEKING AND NORTH CHIHLI.

LAZARISTS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. S. JARLIN.

Missionaries.

Priests—Lazarist, European	38	Marist Brothers—European	32
Chinese	12	Chinese	7
Secular, European	6	Sisters of Charity	50
Chinese	43	Sisters of St Joseph	104
Brothers—Lazarist	5	Masters and Mistresses teaching in Schools	2,844
Cistercians: Priests	11	Vierges (Native Sisters) living with their families	340
Cistercians: Choir Religious	17		
Cistercians: Lay Brothers	41		

Educational.

1 Grand Séminaire—Students	41	Colleges, Chinese Studies, 6; Scholars	123
1 Petit „ „	180	Schools, Boys, 282; Scholars	5,200
Colleges, Normal, 19; Students	1,079	Girls, 215; Scholars	3,921
Boys, European, 2; Scholars	39	for Catechumens, 2,217; with Adults	35,054
Girls, European, 1; Scholars	62	Children	9,730
European Studies, 4; Scholars	541	Printing-press	1

Charitable.

2 Alms-houses—Inmates	90	3 Hospitals—Patients received 1907-8 (July)	1,491
2 Orphanages, with Boys	45	4 Dispensaries — Cases treated	75,923
7 „ „ Girls	547		
Orphans in charge of nurses	558		

In Mission on 30th June 1908.

Estimated Population	10,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	138,568
Churches, 74; Chapels	515	Catechumens	45,600
Stations, 1,408; Oratories	39	Baptisms, 1907-8—Adults	32,749
Residences of Missionaries	50	Children of Christians	4,502
		In articulo mortis, Adults	146
		Children of heathen	10,488

EASTERN CHIHLI.

LAZARISTS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. F. GEURTS.

Priests—European	8	Brothers, Nuns, Catechists	67
Chinese	1		

Educational.

Seminaries for training Clergy	2	Colleges and Schools	22
Students	38	Scholars	324

Charitable.

Orphanages or Asylums	2
Inmates	24

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	5,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	5,823
Churches and Chapels	15	Catechumens	1,000
Oratories and Stations	25		

WESTERN CHIHLI.

LAZARISTS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. A. COQSET.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	15	Brothers, Nuns, Catechists	448
Chinese	6		

Educational.

Seminaries for training Clergy	2	Colleges or Schools	84
Students	79	Scholars	1,533

Charitable.

Orphanages or Asylums	6	Hospitals	5
Inmates	1,111	Dispensaries	2
		Cases treated (1906)	39,195

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	8,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	44,500
Churches	49	Catechumens	6,530
Chapels	36		
Oratories and Stations	282		

SOUTH-EASTERN CHIHLI.

Jesuits.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. H. Maquet, S.J.

Missionaries.

Priests—European, Jesuits	48	Brothers—Jesuits (of whom 5 are Chinese)	18
Chinese (of whom 10 are Jesuits)	20	Others, *e.g.* Catechists, etc.	1048

Educational.

Seminaries for training Clergy	2	Colleges and Schools	462
Students	83	Scholars	7209

Charitable.

Orphanages or Asylums	5	Dispensaries	22
Inmates	150	Orphans maintained by Mission in families	288

In Mission on 1st July 1907.

Population	7-8,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	62,454
Churches and Chapels	334	Catechumens	8,036
Oratories, Stations	328	Adults baptised in year 1906-7	2,273

In each of the four sections of the Mission is a Central College for European and Chinese studies; and in the N and S section there are Instructional Workshops. A European-Chinese Printing-press is established at Changkiachwang.

The number of Christians in the Mission was—on 1st July—in each year:—

1857	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1901	1906	1907
9,505	10,030	19,612	29,034	38,005	50,875	45,419	59,646	62,454

NORTH HONAN.

Foreign Missions of Milan.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. G. Menicatti.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	13	Religious — European, 3;	
Chinese	2	Sisters, Native, 30	33
		Catechists, Masters in Schools, etc.	202

Educational.

Seminary for training Clergy	1	Colleges or Schools—Boys	44
Students	6	Scholars	650
Schools for Children of Catechumens—Boys	110	Schools—Girls	9
Scholars	1,700	Scholars	164
Girls	18		
Scholars	370		

Charitable.

Orphanages	3	Infants collected during year	159
Orphans	40	in charge of nurses	226
Dispensaries	6		

In Mission on 15th August 1908.

Estimated Population	7,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	6,183
Churches—Large, European style	12	Catechumens	4,178
Small (Public Chapels)	47	Baptised 1907-8 — Adults	751
Stations—with Oratory	95	Children	233
without Oratory	123	Heathen Children baptised *in articulo mortis*	4,119

SOUTH MANCHURIA.

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF PARIS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. M. F. CHOULET.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	31	Nuns (including Native Sisters)	244
Chinese	8	Catechists	64

Educational.

Seminaries for training Clergy	1	Colleges or Schools—Boys	75
Students	16	Scholars	1,513
		Colleges or Schools—Girls	59
		Scholars	1,275

Charitable.

Orphanages or Asylums	12	Hospitals	3
Inmates—Old Men, 54; Old Women, 48	102	Dispensaries	3
Orphans	?		

In Mission, July 1907.

Estimated Population	10,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	20,628
Churches	14	Catechumens	6,950
Oratories, Stations	86	Baptised during apostolic year, 1906-7—Adults	1,633
		Children of Christians	892
		Children of heathen	3,682

NORTH MANCHURIA.

Foreign Missions of Paris.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. P. M. Lalouyer.

	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.
Priests—									
European .	...	10	14	14	14	16	18	18	22
Chinese .	...	4	4	3	2	3	3	4	8
Catechists .	...	22	30	32	34	35	37	40	41
Native Sisters	...	25	27	28	32	35	38	41	47
Seminaries .	...	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
Students . .	...	26	35	36	30	33	40	49	47
Schools—									
Boys . .	...	30	44	32	38	55	77	74	81
Scholars	...	669	950	572	691	1,236	1,873	1,711	1,755
Girls . .	...	22	29	28	27	36	44	49	52
Scholars	...	651	807	779	833	1,041	1,294	1,352	1,426
Orphanages—									
Girls . .	...	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Orphans	...	254	350	342	325	337	340	332	318
Chinese Catholics . .	6,556	7,392	8,983	8,926	8,317	10,161	11,562	13,376	14,924
Catechumens	...	430	495	763	4,136	6,869	7,670	10,376	8,725
Heathen bapt.	...	736	1,154	188	471	1,007	1,454	1,924	1,681
Churches or chapels . .	...	45	46	48	50	62	74	86	93

Vicariate formed in 1898 by division of Manchuria. Estimated population, 10,000,000. In the Boxer Rising of 1900, most of the churches, residences, and schools were destroyed. Pères Souvignet, Georjon, and Leray were massacred, and a Chinese priest, Père Tchang, was beheaded in the town of Pétonné [? Petuna] after "juridical process." Sixty Christians died rather than deny their faith.

Peace restored, the Mission—by the aid of indemnities—rose from its ruins. Catechumens increase yearly, and the Russo-Japanese war did no harm.

EASTERN MONGOLIA.

Foreign Missions of Scheutveld.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. C. Abels.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	38	Brothers	1
Chinese	9	Nuns	40
		Catechists	71

Educational.

Seminary for training Clergy	1	Colleges and Schools	61
Students	20	Scholars	1,674

Charitable.

Orphanages and Asylums	5	Dispensary	1
Inmates	352		

In Mission on 31st December 1906.

Estimated Population	5,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	17,166
Churches, Chapels	48	Catechumens	6,890
Oratories, Stations	18	Adults converted during 1906	728

CENTRAL MONGOLIA.

Foreign Missions of Scheutveld.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. J. van Aertselaer.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	46	Nuns	11
Chinese	23	Catechists	23

Educational.

Seminary for training Clergy	1	Colleges	2
Students	11	Scholars	130
		Schools—Boys	69
		Scholars	1,063
		Schools—Girls	49
		Scholars	1,124

Charitable.

Orphanages or Asylums	8	Dispensary	1
Inmates	1,553		

In Mission on 1st July 1907.

Estimated Population	?	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	23,776
Churches, Chapels, of all kinds	138	Catechumens	6,244
		Baptised in apostolic year—	
		Adults	600
		Children of Christians	1,228
		Children of heathen	977

WESTERN MONGOLIA.

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF SCHEUTVELD.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. A. BERMYN.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	47	Native Sisters	19
Chinese	1	Catechists	215

Educational.

Seminaries for training Clergy	1	Colleges, Schools, of all kinds	84
Students	23	Scholars	2,316

Charitable.

Orphanages and Asylums	5	Hospitals of all kinds	3
Inmates	362	Inmates	128

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	3,500,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	11,430
Churches and Chapels	43	Catechumens	4,094
Oratories and Stations	43	Adults converted during year	1,030

Nearly all the Catholics and Catechumens live in places where they are separated from the Heathen. This aids very powerfully the instruction and education of Christians.

Since 1900, Catholics have increased from 5,000 to 11,430.

In 1900, Mgr. Hamer, the Vicar-Apostolic, was killed by the Boxers, together with many of the Christians.

ILI.

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF SCHEUTVELD.

Prefect-Apostolic—V. R. FR. J. B. STEENEMAN.

No information obtainable, except that in 1907 there were 6 European Priests ; the Chinese Catholics were about 300.

NORTH KANSU.

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF SCHEUTVELD.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. H. OTTO.

Missionaries.

Priests—European . .	19	Priests—Chinese . .	1

Educational.

1 College—Scholars .	36	10 Schools—Scholars .	234

No charitable institutions, but priests distribute medicine gratuitously; and each supports a residence containing 6 to 12 old people.

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	10,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens) .	2,702
Churches and Chapels of every kind . .	25	Catechumens . .	233
Residences . . .	10	Adults converted in 1906 .	56

The Province devastated by Mahommedans is now (1907) becoming repopulated. Mahommedans number 500,000, and, though industrious, are turbulent. Being united, the Mandarins dare not oppress them; the heathen not being united, the Mandarins do as they please. The few Christians are very faithful; but the Mission is hampered by want of funds. At present, the Vicar-Apostolic, his twenty Priests, the College and Schools depend on a grant of 23,000 francs (£920) per annum, and such casual alms as may be given.

SOUTH KANSU.

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF SCHEUTVELD.

Prefect-Apostolic—V. R. FR. EVRARD TERLAAK.

Missionaries.

Priests—European . .	12	Nuns—Chinese . .	9
Chinese . . .	3	Schoolmasters, 4; mistresses, 1 . .	5
		Catechists . . .	3

In Mission in 1907.

Estimated Population .	?	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens) .	1,106
Churches and Chapels .	13	Catechumens . .	626
Oratories . . .	3	Baptisms—Adults . .	47
		Children of Christians .	60
		Children of heathen .	187

NORTH SHENSI.

Franciscans.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. Athanasio Goette.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	17	Franciscan Brothers	2
Chinese (of whom 6 are Franciscans)	30	Nuns—European, 24; Chinese, 2	26
		Catechists	165

Educational.

Seminaries for training Clergy	2	4 Colleges; 32 Schools	36
Students (24 in Greater, 56 in Lesser)	80	Scholars	5,188

Charitable.

Orphanages (Girls, 2; Boys, 1)	3	2 Hospitals, 2 Dispensaries	4
Orphans, 367, and 772 Girls with nurses	1,139	2 Old People's Asylums; 4 Hospices for Poor	6

In Mission on 31st December 1906.

Estimated Population	7,500,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	24,077
Churches and Chapels	186	Catechumens	4,265
Oratories and Stations	233	Adults converted in 1906	372

The Franciscan Tertiaries numbered 1,470. Secret impediments on the part of the Mandarins notwithstanding, conversions take place in every part, and of late years many Chinese Protestants have embraced the Faith. The efforts of the Fathers are often paralysed by lack of funds.

SOUTH SHENSI.

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF ROME.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. P. J. PASSERINI.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	15	Sisters—European, 10; Chinese, 6	16
Chinese	2	Catechists	66

Educational.

Seminary for training Clergy	1	2 Colleges—Scholars	219
Students	15	Other Schools	19

Charitable.

3 Orphanages or Asylums, inmates	380	2 Hospices for the old, inmates	96
Hospitals of every kind	2	1 Hospice for Lepers	...
Dispensaries	3	Infants in charge of nurses	620

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	4,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	11,489
Churches and Chapels	64	Catechumens	6,305
Oratories—Stations	66	Converted during 1906, more than	200
1 Catechumenate for men	80	Baptisms during 1906—Adults	163
2 Catechumenate for women	240	Children of heathen	345

NORTH SHANSI.

FRANCISCANS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. AGAPITO FIORENTINI, O.M.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	15	Fratres Laici, European	4
Chinese	16	Franciscan Sisters, European	13
Fratres Clerici, European	2	Native Sisters	35

Educational.

1 Seminary for training clergy, Students	15	85 Schools for Boys—Scholars	1,216
1 College, Students	31	57 Schools for Girls—Scholars	1,226

Charitable.

Orphanages and Asylums	5	Hospitals of every kind	3
Orphans (Boys, 95; Girls, 497)	592	In which 91 old men, 27 old women are maintained	118
Infants with nurses	1,307	Dispensary	1
Girls collected during year	998		
Died during year	892		

In Mission, 31st December 1906.

Estimated Population	6,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	17,357
Churches	22	Catechumens	7,034
Chapels and Oratories	154	Adults converted in 1906	1,859
Stations	269	Children of Christians baptised	839
		Children of heathen (orphans, etc.)	2,411

SOUTH SHANSI.

Franciscans.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. Od. Timmer, O.F.M.

Missionaries.

Priests—European, O.F.M.	25	Catechists—Men	73
Chinese	6	Women	30

Educational.

1 Greater Seminary—Students	7	112 Schools for Boys—Scholars	1,637
1 Lesser Seminary—Students	13	103 Schools for Girls—Scholars	1,356
2 Colleges—Students	55	75 Schools for Catechumens—Men, 1002; Women, 777	1,779

Charitable.

Infants collected during year	233	Infants adopted by Christians	44
Provided for by Mission	524	Died	675

In Mission on 15th July 1907.

Estimated Population	6,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	14,316
Churches	38	Catechumens	7,926
Public Chapels	115	Baptisms—Adults	935
Stations	247	Children of Christians	644
		Children of heathen	804

Note.—Local conditions up to 1907 have been unfavourable to the erection of hospitals.

NORTH SHANTUNG.

FRANCISCANS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. EPHREM GIESEN, O.F.M.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	25	Fratres Laici, O.F.M., European	4
Chinese	19	Catechists(men),145;(women), 83	228

Charitable.

Orphanages and Asylums	3	Dispensaries	2
Inmates	203		
Children (abandoned by parents) educating in Christian families	719		

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	11,000,000 to 13,000,000	Chinese Catholics(exclusive of Catechumens)	23,568
Churches and Chapels	254	Catechumens	15,755
Oratories and Stations	447	Adults baptised this year	1,775

EASTERN SHANTUNG.

FRANCISCANS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. C. SCHANG.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	24	Brothers, 8; Nuns, 35	43
Chinese	5	Catechists	71

Educational.

Seminary for training Clergy	1	Schools*	45
Students	33	Scholars*	481

Charitable.

Orphanage*	1	Hospitals*	2
Orphans*	235		

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	9,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	9,900
Churches and Chapels	53	Baptised in 1906—Adults	521
Oratories and Stations	141	Children of Christians	255
		Children of heathen	2,121

* From best accounts obtainable, but some years ago.

SOUTH SHANTUNG.

Foreign Missions of Steil.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. A. Henninghaus.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	45	Brothers, lay S.V.D.,*	13
Chinese	12	Marist, 3	16
		Sisters, Franciscan, 16; from Steil, 6	22

Educational.

1 Seminary (object not stated)—Students	64	9 Chino-German Schools—Scholars	582
1 "Juvenatus" (? Secondary School) European girls—Students	69	42 Classical Schools—Scholars	544
1 "Juvenatus" (? Secondary School) Chinese girls—Students	7	159 Other Schools (Boys, 1,147; Girls, 443)	1,590

Charitable.

3 Orphanages for Boys—Orphans	185	3 Asylums for old people—Inmates	65
3 Orphanages for Girls—Orphans	209	Hospital (Tsingtau)	1
Orphans placed with families	202	In which 3391 cases were cured; 5532 consultations; and 223 operations took place.	
Orphans received during year	113		

In Mission on 15th July 1906.

Estimated Population	10,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	35,301
Churches and Chapels	147	Catechumens	36,367
Houses of Prayer (? Oratories)	719	Since Easter 1905.	
		Baptised—Adults	4,313
		Children	2,242
		In articulo mortis—Children	4,600

* *Societas Verbi Divini* (Society of the Divine Word).

WESTERN HONAN.

Foreign Missions of Parma.

Prefect-Apostolic—V. R. Fr. Aloysius Calza.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	8	Nuns—Chinese	3
		Schoolmasters	4
		Catechists	26

In Mission in 1907.

Estimated Population	?	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	1,055
Churches and Chapels	5		
Oratories	19	Catechumens	2,000
		Baptisms—Adults	191
		Children of Christians, 59; of heathen, 115	174

Prefecture formed in 1906, by division of South Honan.

SOUTH HONAN.

Foreign Missions of Milan.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. A. Cattaneo.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	13	Others (Brothers, Nuns, Catechists), European and Chinese	110
Chinese	10		

Educational.

Seminary for training Clergy	1	Schools for either sex	60
Students	23	Scholars	670

Charitable.

3 Orphanages or Asylums—Inmates	913	Dispensaries	20

In Mission on 31st December 1906.

Estimated Population	15,500,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	11,500
Churches and Chapels	73		
Oratories and Stations	240	Catechumens	9,000
		Baptisms during year	3,000

Up to 1884, Honan consisted of one Vicariate. In that year it was divided into two; and in 1906 a further division was effected by forming 5 Prefectures and 29 Sub-Prefectures (of the Chinese Administration) of South Honan into a Prefecture-Apostolic, confided to the Society of Foreign Missions of Parma, under the title of West Honan.

The principal residence of South Honan is at Nanyangfu, where are the seminary, schools, an orphanage, together with a beautiful church in European style. At Kioshan (near the Peking-Hankow Railway) a spacious hospital is in course of construction (1907).

In the Vicariate generally there is great hope of conversions, but they take place gradually, and the utmost caution has to be exercised in the case of would-be converts.

EASTERN HUPEH.

FRANCISCANS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. EPIPHANIO CARLASSARE.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	24	Brothers, Nuns	?
Chinese	17	Catechists	50

Educational.

In Seminaries (object not stated)—Students	25	In Schools (Sancta Infantia) —Boys	1,521
Colleges (preparing for Seminaries)—Scholars	16	Girls	366
Schools, special, for languages*—Scholars	236	In Schools conducted by Sisters—Girls	490
Schools, other than above —Scholars	2,603		

Charitable.

Heathen children collected during year	157	Maintained by Sisters in Orphanage—Girls	215
Adopted—Boys	9	With nurses—Girls	805
Baptised	3,178	Baptised—Girls	1,196
Died	2,219	Died—Girls	480
Maintained by Missions	485	Old people cared for (men 16, women 76)	92

In hospital: admitted—men, 724; women, 770.
Sick prescribed for, 15,600.

In Mission on 15th August 1906.

Estimated Population	16,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	23,304
Churches and Public Oratories	105	Baptisms since 15th August 1905—	
Stations	256	Adults	1,154
		Children of Christians	891

* Two of these schools exist, one in Hankow, taught by Marist Brothers, the other in Wuchang, of which the masters are Franciscans.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

NORTH-WESTERN HUPEH.

FRANCISCANS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. F. LANDI.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	15	Brothers, 1; Nuns, 35; Catechists, 38	74
Chinese	14		

Educational.

1 Seminary for training Clergy—Students	9	1 College—Scholars	15
		42 Schools	1,050

Charitable.

? Orphanages (Boys 40; Girls 681)	721		

In Mission, 1906-7.

Estimated Population	6,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	17,211
Churches and Chapels	81	Catechumens	9,400
Oratories and Stations	?	Baptisms during year—	
		Adults	1,256
		Christian Children	424
		Heathen Children	3,716

SOUTH-WESTERN HUPEH.

FRANCISCANS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. M. EVERAERTS.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	19	Brothers	5
Chinese	8	Nuns	11

Educational.

Seminary for training Clergy	1	1 College, ? Schools	?
Students	6	Scholars (Boys, 702; Girls, 682)	1,384

Charitable.

2 Orphanages (Boys, 58; Girls, 241)	299	Hospital	1

In Mission, 1st *July* 1907.

Estimated Population	9,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	10,546
Churches and Chapels	78	Catechumens	6,384
Oratories and Stations	?	Baptisms, year 1906-7—	
		Adults	1,069
		Christian Children	331
		Heathen Children	1,205

SOUTH HUNAN.

Franciscans.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. J. P. Mondaini.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	14	Brothers, 3; Nuns, 14	17
Chinese	6	Catechists	50

Educational.

1 Seminary for training Clergy—Students	12	? Schools with Scholars	332

Charitable.

? Orphanages—Girls	225

In Mission, 1906-7.

Estimated Population	10,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	6,499
Churches and Chapels	24	Catechumens	1,000
Oratories and Stations	?	Baptisms, 1906-7—Adults	288
		Christian Children	298
		Heathen Children	1,406

NORTH HUNAN.

Augustinians.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. L. Pérez y Pérez.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	24	Priests—Chinese	2

Educational.

Schools (Boys, 18; Girls, 11)	29	Scholars (Boys, 246; Girls, 95)	341

Charitable.

2 Orphanages with Orphans	744

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	11,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	2,677
Churches, 12; Chapels, 20	32	Catechumens	3,317
Oratories and Stations	27	Converted in 1906-7—Adults	232

NORTH KIANGSI.

LAZARISTS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. PAUL FERRANT.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	17	Brothers, Nuns, Catechists—	
Chinese	3	European	34
		Chinese	101

Educational.

1 Seminary for training Clergy—Students	22	47 Schools with Scholars	1,481

Charitable.

4 Orphanages, with Orphans	571	Dispensaries	4
Hospitals	2	Sick treated in 1906	123,343

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	10,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive	
Churches, 19; Chapels, 88	107	of Catechumens)	11,397
Oratories and Stations	55	Catechumens	8,861

EAST KIANGSI.

LAZARISTS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. CASIMIR VIC.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	17	Nuns	21
Chinese	9	Catechists	170

Educational.

Seminaries for training Clergy	2	Colleges and Schools	89
Students	32	Scholars	2,515

Charitable.

Orphanages and Asylums	15	Hospitals	14
Inmates	505	Dispensaries	3
		Sick treated, 1906	38,441

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	8,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive	
Churches 7; Chapels 42	49	of Catechumens)	16,295
Oratories and Stations	61	Catechumens	3,500

SOUTH KIANGSI.

LAZARISTS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. N. CICERI.

Missionaries.

Priests—European .	14	Nuns—European, 6; Chinese, 17 . .	23
		Catechists . . .	53

Educational.

2 Seminaries for training Clergy—Students .	42	52 Schools with Scholars .	820

Charitable.

4 Orphanages and Asylums—Inmates . . .	204	Hospitals . . .	2
		Dispensary . . .	1
		Sick treated in 1906 .	27,840

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	10,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens) .	8,637
Churches, 8; Chapels, 6 .	14		
Oratories and Stations .	16	Catechumens . .	2,932

CHEKIANG.

LAZARISTS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. PAUL REYNAUD.

Missionaries.

Priests—European . .	29	Brothers, 5; Nuns, 97 .	102
Chinese . . .	18	Catechists . . .	277

Educational.

3 Seminaries for training Clergy—Students .	58	115 Colleges and Schools—Scholars . .	1,207

Charitable.

12 Orphanages and Asylums—Inmates . .	1,454	Dispensaries . .	9
		Sick treated in 1906	213,058
Hospitals . . .	19		

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	20,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens) .	25,126
Churches, 12; Chapels, 119	131		
Oratories and Stations .	203	Catechumens . .	8,683

KIANGNAN (KIANGSU AND ANHWEI).

JESUITS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. P. PARIS, S.J.

Missionaries.

Priests—Jesuits (European, 131 ; Chinese, 26) .	157	Marist Brothers (European)	30
Secular . . .	34	Catechists (Religious of Chinese Cong. of Mère de Dieu) . .	38
Scholastics—Jesuits (European, 13 ; Chinese, 3) .	16	Nuns—Carmelite(European, 13 ; Chinese, 21) .	34
Brothers—Jesuits (European, 18 ; Chinese, 10)	28	Aux. du Purg. (European, 58 ; Chinese, 37) .	95
Catechists (Assistants to Missionaries) . .	221	St Vincent de P. (European, 39 ; Chinese, 3)	42
Masters in Schools, 703 ; Mistresses, 777 . .	1,480	Little Sisters of Poor (European) . .	14
"Vierges" in service of mission, about . .	800	Présentandines (Chinese) .	179

Educational.

(Shanghai and neighbourhood.)

Scholasticate (training college of the Society of Jesus) .	1	1 School for European Girls	307
2 Seminaries for training Clergy—Students .	52	1 Boarding-School for Christian Girls . .	148
1 College for Chinese, French, English, and Latin studies—Students .	266	1 Boarding-School for non-Christian Girls . .	128
1 School (*L'Aurore*)—Scholars	172	1 Day-School for European and Chinese Girls .	357
1 Municipal French School—Boys . . .	251	1 School for European and Eurasian Orphan Girls	139
1 Marist School for European, Chinese, and Eurasian Boys . . .	549	1 School for Deaf-mutes .	17
1 Boarding-School for Chinese Boys . . .	149	25 Other Schools for Boys .	1,926
		21 Other Schools for Girls .	1,728

(Elsewhere.)

131 Boarding-Schools for Boys . . .	5,905	515 Other Schools for Boys	12,417
102 Boarding-Schools for Girls . . .	4,217	569 Other Schools for Girls	8,276
1 House for Catechists .	18		

Charitable.

2 Orphanages in Shanghai —Boys, 275 ; Girls, 527	802	4 Hospitals, received during year, sick	4,062
39 Orphanages elsewhere, received during year	7,198	5 Dispensaries, treated sick	225,232
Orphans with nurses	916	5 Hospices for Aged— 158 men ; 207 women	365
Orphans confided to families	3,025		

In Mission, 1st July 1907.

Estimated Population	50,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	164,088
Stations with Church or Chapel	1,027	Catechumens	95,013
Stations without Chapel	200	Increase during year (Catholics)	11,215

Other works include, 2 Observatories ; 1 Printing-press, whence issues a Chinese newspaper (biweekly), and a religious publication (monthly); 7 Workrooms, where 300 women find employment ; a Catholic Club of 85 Members; a Natural History Museum; Instructional Workshops (building, joinery, sculpture, etc.); and 239 Catechumenates, where 12,668 men and 6,623 women were instructed. In works, not by their nature exclusively Christian, non-Christians participate in the benefits.

Comparative Table, 1860-1907.

	1860-61	1880-81	1900-1	1906-7
Priests	48	87	169	191
Stations	405	580	1,046	1,227
Christians	77,418	99,154	127,839	164,088
Adults baptised *	1,363	1,145	2,875	7,983

* Including those baptised in danger of death.

KWEICHOW.

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF PARIS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. F. M. GUICHARD.

Coadjutor—R. R. MGR. F. L. SEGUIN.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	48	Nuns (? European or Chinese)	109
Chinese	17	Catechists	184

Educational.

1 Seminary for training Clergy		156 Schools—Scholars	2,336
—Students	52		

Charitable.

13 Orphanages and Asylums		Hospital	1
—Inmates	860	Dispensaries	72

In Mission in 1907.

Estimated Population	10,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	25,368
Places of Worship of all kinds	112	Catechumens	22,825
		Increase since last year—Catholics	1,350

NORTH-WEST SZECHWAN.

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF PARIS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. J. DUNAND.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	38	Brothers, European	3
Chinese	45	Nuns, European	14
		Catechists, Chinese	60

Educational.

2 Seminaries for training Clergy—Students	108	Schools, 337—Scholars	4,675

Charitable.

5 Orphanages and Asylums		Hospital	1
—Inmates	132	Dispensaries	46

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population (?)	25,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	40,000
Churches and Chapels	57	Catechumens	8,672
Stations	328	Adults converted in 1906	1,412

EAST SZECHWAN.

Foreign Missions of Paris.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. Joseph Chouvellon.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	47	Brothers, European	3
Chinese	41	Nuns — European, 5; "Vierges," Chinese, 521	526
		Catechists, Chinese	191

Educational.

3 Seminaries for training Clergy—Students	140	Schools, 275, with Scholars	4,330

Charitable.

4 Orphanages and Asylums—Inmates	225	Dispensaries, besides	76
Hospitals	4	"Medecins ambulants" attending gratuitously on heathen children	60

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	? 15,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	51,861
Churches and Chapels	131	Catechumens	17,000
Oratories and Stations	285	Baptisms in 1906 (963 *in articulo mortis*)—Adults	2,069

A large Printing-press (Latin and Chinese books of all sorts).

A Chinese newspaper (*La Verité*) weekly.

A large paying hospital, where Christians and heathen alike are cared for by Sisters of St Francis.

A School of European Languages and Sciences kept by the Marist Brothers.

SOUTH SZECHWAN.

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF PARIS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. MARC CHATAGNON.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	45	Nuns	6
Chinese	13	Catechists, Chinese	100

Educational.

2 Seminaries for training Clergy—Students	103	Schools 250, with Scholars	5,000

Charitable.

6 Orphanages, and Asylums for Boys	620	Dispensaries	5
Hospitals	5	Dispensaries for heathen children	90

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	20,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	26,000
Churches and Chapels	45	Catechumens	5,000
Oratories and Stations	400	Adults converted in 1906	2,430

At Sui-fu—which is the centre of the Mission, and where resides the Vicar-Apostolic—the head of navigation on the Yâng-tse, there is a large hospital where sick from the European gunboats, which call every year, are received and treated by Franciscan Sisters. Also a School in which two missionaries teach European Languages and Sciences.

YUNNAN.

Foreign Missions of Paris.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. de Gorostarzu.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	29	Nuns, Chinese	39
Chinese	13	Catechists, Chinese	51

Educational.

1 Seminary for training Clergy —Students	30	58 Boys' Schools—Scholars	919
1 College (recently founded) —Students	15	41 Girls' Schools—Scholars	632
4 Gymnasia (Languages and Sciences).			

Charitable.

22 Orphanages, with Boys and Girls	136	Dispensaries	17

In Mission, 31*st December* 1906.

Estimated Population	12,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	10,390
Churches, 4; Oratories, 81	85	Catechumens	13,097
Stations visited	181	Adults baptised in 1906	514

Mission was commenced in 1843. During the first thirty years tumult and sedition raged throughout the province, reducing the period of work to thirty-four years.

In 1900, when all the Empire was disturbed, the greater part of the buildings were destroyed or burned, taking nearly three years to reconstruct.

The late Vicar-Apostolic died (10th January 1907) at the age of eighty-six, sixty years of which he had spent in China. (R.I.P.)

FOOCHOW.

DOMINICANS.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. MGR. SALVADOR MASOT, O.P.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	37	Religious, European	1
Chinese	16	Nuns, European	13
		Schoolmasters, 60; mistresses, 45	105
		Catechists	60

Educational.

1 Seminary for training Clergy—Students	8	101 Schools—Scholars	1,466

Charitable.

Orphanages or Asylums	6

In Mission, 31*st December* 1906.

Estimated Population	17,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	45,984
Churches and Chapels	112	Catechumens	22,000
		Adults baptised in 1906	1,025

AMOY.

Dominicans.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. G. I. Clemente, O.P.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	17	Nuns—European, 10; Chinese, 16	26
Chinese	1	Schoolmasters, 13; mistresses, 14	27
		Catechists	62

Educational.

1 Seminary for training Clergy—Students	33	Schools (Boys, 31; Girls, 26)	57

Charitable.

Orphanages and Asylums	3	Dispensaries	3

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	4,500,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	4,242
Churches and Chapels	48	Catechumens	4,773
Oratories and Stations	16	Adults baptised in 1906	160
		Children baptised in 1906 (Christian)	181
		Children baptised in 1906 (Heathen)	784

HONG KONG.

Foreign Missions of Milan.

Vicar-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. D. Pozzoni.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	10	Nuns—European	60
Chinese	10	Chinese	60
Brothers of the Christian Schools	12	Catechists—Chinese	33

Educational.

1 Seminary for training Clergy —Students	16	76 Schools for either sex— Scholars	2,500
6 Colleges for either sex— Students	155		

Charitable.

5 Orphanages with Orphans	460	Hospitals	6
Houses "S'tae Infantiae"	16	Dispensaries	8

In Mission, 31st December 1906.

Population (in the entire Mission), Chinese, 3,200,000; Ind., Japanese, etc., 3,000; European, 4,000 — Total, 3,207,000		Chinese and European Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	13,275
		Catechumens	1,800
		Adults baptised in 1906	888
Churches, Chapels	84		
Oratories, Stations	123		

3 Clubs (English, Portuguese, Chinese)—object, recreation, but Christian instruction is given also.

4 Catechumenates.

KWANGTUNG (CANTON).

Foreign Missions of Paris.

Prefect-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. J. M. Merel.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	70	Sisters Catechists of M. I.	6
Chinese	17	Sisters of St Paul (Chartres)	3
Marist Brothers—European	4	"Vierges," native, remaining in own families	359
Catechists—Chinese	115	Sisters, Chinese, 4; Catechists, Chinese, 80	84

Educational.

1 Seminary (Students, 14 Cleric.; 52 Latinists)	66	1 College for Christian and heathen Scholars	195
1 School for Catechists with Students	12	158 Boys' Schools, 57 Girls' Schools	215
1 School for Europeans (Shameen)—Scholars	20	Scholars (Boys, 2500; Girls, 895)	3,395
		Working Schools (? trades)	2

Charitable.

1 Orphanage (72 Boys); 8 do. (395 Girls)	467	1 Leper Hospital—Patients	30
2 Asylums for aged men and women	35	Dispensaries	4

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	30,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	60,000
Churches and Chapels	120	Catechumens	?
Oratories	364	Baptised ? in 1906—Adults	2,790
		Children of Christians	1,670
		Children of heathen	8,894

Place of Pilgrimage, Sancian Id., where St Francis Xavier died.

KWANGSI.

Foreign Missions of Paris.

Prefect-Apostolic—R. R. Mgr. J. M. Lavest.

Missionaries.

Priests—European	27	Religious, European	4
Chinese	4	Nuns—European, 6 ; Chinese, 1	7
		Schoolmistresses	6
		Catechists	31

Educational.

1 Seminary for training Clergy —Students	20	26 Schools—Scholars	297

Charitable.

7 Orphanages or Asylums—Inmates	54	Hospitals and Dispensaries	6

In Mission, 1907.

Estimated Population	10,000,000	Chinese Catholics (exclusive of Catechumens)	3,610
Churches and Chapels, 55 ; Stations ?	?55	Catechumens	4,312
		Baptised in 1906—Adults	511
		Children of Christians	135
		Children of heathen	330

TABLE B.

Summary of Personnel of Catholic Missions in the Far East in 1907.

I.—CHINA (INCLUDING MACAO), HONG KONG, AND TIBET.

	Description.	No.	Total of each Class.
1	CLERGY—		
	Bishops	43	
	Priests—European	1,346	
	Chinese	592	1,981
2	SEMINARISTS	1,215	1,215
3	RELIGIOUS (Members of Orders or Congregations other than Priests)		
	Men—European	229	
	Chinese	130	
	Women—European	558	
	Chinese	1,328	2,245
4	NON-RELIGIOUS—		
	Masters and Mistresses in Schools	7,802	7,802

Note.—Catechists are not included in the above.

II.—KOREA AND JAPAN.

	Description.	Korea.		Japan.	
		Number.	Total.	Number.	Total.
1	CLERGY—				
	Bishops	1	...	4	
	Priests—European	46	...	140	
	Native	10	57	33	177
2	SEMINARISTS	9	9	23	23
3	RELIGIOUS—				
	Men	...	...	92	
	European	...	...	?	
	Native	...	...	?	
	Women	...	...	189	
	European	11	...	?	
	Native	41	52	?	281

TABLE C.

Number of Chinese Catholics by Provinces. 1907.

	Total.	Per cent.
Chihli	217,947	20
Kiangsu	136,096	13
Szechwan and Tibet	119,961	11
Kwangtung	102,125	10
Shantung	72,838	7
Hupeh	52,549	5
Fukien	51,299	5
Mongolia	48,495	5
Kiangsi	36,329	3
Shensi	35,881	3
Shansi	32,516	3
Anhwei	27,992	3
Kweichow	25,368	2
Chekiang	25,126	2
Shengking	20,628	2
Honan	18,487	1
Kirin and Amur	15,823	1
Yunnan	11,389	1
Hunan	9,176	1
Kansu	7,985	1
Kwangsi	3,610	0
Sinkiang	300	0

Note.—The percentage is that of the total Catholic Christians in China.

TABLE D.

Chinese Catholics and Catechumens by Missions. Increase. 1907.

FIRST REGION.

Missions.		Congregations.	Catholics.	Increase.	Catechumens.
Chihli	N.	Lazarists	105,170	14,553	22,000
„	E.	„	5,823	547	1,000
„	W.	„	44,500	2,620	6,530
„	S.E.	Jesuits	62,454	2,808	8,036
Honan	N.	For. Miss., Milan	5,432	832	3,827
Manchuria	S.	„ Paris	20,628	1,815	6,950
„	N.	„ „	15,823	899	...
Mongolia	E.	„ Scheutveld	17,466	1,751	7,100
„	Cent.	„ „	23,776	1,476	6,244
„	W.	„ „	11,430	1,642	4,094
			312,502	28,943	65,781

SECOND REGION.

Missions.		Congregations.	Catholics.	Increase.	Catechumens.
Ili . .	...	For. Miss., Scheutveld	300	...	...
Kansu .	N.	,, ,,	2,702	132	233
,, .	S.	,, ,,	1,106	75	626
Shensi .	N.	Franciscans . .	24,392	292	5,000
,, .	S.	For. Miss., Rome .	11,489	389	6,305
Shansi .	N.	Franciscans . .	18,200	850	7,302
,, .	S.	,, . .	14,316	1,012	7,926
Shantung	N.	,, . .	23,568	2,849*	15,755
,,	E.	,, . .	9,900	−500*	1,500
,,	S.	For. Miss., Steil .	39,370	4,069	43,324
			145,343	9,168	87,971

* In 1906 Shantung E. transferred three sub-prefectures to Shantung N. The increase in the two vicariates is 2349.

THIRD REGION.

Missions.		Congregations.	Catholics.	Increase.	Catechumens.
Honan .	W.	For. Miss., Parma .	1,055	253	2,000
,, .	S.	,, Milan .	12,000	700	6,000
Hupeh .	E.	Franciscans . .	24,792	1,488	20,000
,, .	N.W.	,, . .	17,211	1,154	9,400
,, .	S.W.	,, . .	10,546	920	6,384
Hunan .	S.	,, . .	6,499	383	1,000
,, .	N.	Augustinians . .	2,677	493	3,317
Kiangsi .	N.	Lazarists . . .	11,397	397	8,861
,, .	E.	,, . . .	16,295	995	3,500
,, .	S.	,, . . .	8,637	837	2,932
Chekiang .	...	,, . . .	25,126	1,508	8,683
Kiangnan	...	Jesuits . . .	164,088	11,215	95,013
			300,323	20,343	167,090

FOURTH REGION.

Missions.		Congregations.	Catholics.	Increase.	Catechumens.
Kweichow	...	For. Miss., Paris .	25,368	1,350	22,825
Szechwan.	N.W.	,, ,, .	40,000 ?	?	8,672
,,	E.	,, ,, .	51,861	17,061	17,000
,,	S.	,, ,, .	26,000	2,000	5,000
Yunnan .	...	,, ,, .	11,389	999	13,097
Tibet .	...	,, ,, .	2,100	50	1,000
			156,718	21,460	67,594

FIFTH REGION.

Missions.	Congregations.	Catholics.	Increase.	Catechumens.
Foochow . . .	Dominicans .	47,057	2,258	25,800
Amoy (excl. Formosa) .	,, .	4,242	17	4,773
Hong Kong . .	For. Miss., Milan	14,195	900	1,000
Kwangtung . . .	,, Paris	60,000	3,645	...
Kwangsi . . .	,, ,,	3,610	176	4,312
Macao (Chinese part) .	Diocese . .	27,930	?	...
		157,034	6,996	35,885

SUMMARY OF TABLE D.

	Catholics.	Increase.	Catechumens.
First Region . .	312,502	28,943	65,781
Second ,, . .	145,343	9,168	87,971
Third ,, . .	300,323	20,343	167,090
Fourth ,, . .	156,718	21,460	67,594
Fifth ,, . .	157,034	6,996	35,885
Total . . .	1,071,920	86,910	424,321

KOREA AND JAPAN.

	Congregations.	Catholics.	Increase.	Catechumens.
Korea. .	For. Miss., Paris .	63,340	2,050	5,503

JAPAN.

	Congregations.	Catholics.	Increase.	Catechumens.
Archdiocese of Tokyo .	For. Miss., Paris	9,435	– 18	...
Diocese of Osaka .	,, ,,	3,593	– 313	...
,, Nagasaki .	,, ,,	43,709	863	...
,, Hakodate .	,, ,,	4,358	123	306
Shikoku (Pref. Apost.) .	Dominicans .	316	16	92
Formosa . . .	,, .	2,240	97	343
	Total in Japan .	63,651	768	741

TABLE E.

General Summary of Catholic Missions in China.

1907.

Missions	44
Bishops	43
Priests—European	1,346
Chinese	592
Seminarists	1,215
Religious—Men, European	229
Chinese	130
Women, European	558
Chinese	1,328
Chinese Catholic Christians	1,071,920
Increase in a year (at least)	86,910
Catechumens (at least)	424,321

TABLE

Statistics of Protestant

Method of Church Government.	No. of Societies.	Foreign Missionaries.				No. of Stations.	Chinese		
		Men.	Women.	Wives.	Total.		Ordained.	Unordained.	Bible Women.
Congregational (Baptists, Congregationalists, Friends) .	9	239	126	198	563	1,272	56	990	192
Episcopalian . .	3	155	138	100	393	378	55	491	136
Methodist . . .	7	163	109	136	408	1,025	135	1,584*	224
Presbyterian . .	11	242	155	169	566	1,100	67	1,158	153
Interdenominational, including Staff of Bible Societies and Y.M.C.A. . .	9	431	341	288	1,060	920	18	1,040	146
Unclassified, including Continental Societies.	24	172	60	115	347	407	14	459	36
Independent and Unconnected Workers .	...	41	35	32	108	...	...	...	...
Totals . .	63	1,443	964	1,038	3,445	5,102	345	5,722	887

* Including Local Preachers.

[1] *A Century of Protestant Missions in China*, 1907,

F.

Missions in China.[1] 1905.

Workers.			Education.				Baptised Christian Community.	Method of Church Government.
Hospital Assistants.	School Teachers.	Total.	No. of Day Schools.	Pupils.	No. of other Schools.	Students.		
98	637	1,973	544	11,527	79	3,443	40,724	Congregational (Baptists, Congregationalists, Friends).
43	599	1,324	438	8,482	51	1,316	22,055	Episcopalian.
83	582	2,608	391	9,400	71	4,174	27,546	Methodist.
120	274	1,772	452	6,665	68	3,051	52,258	Presbyterian.
9	190	1,403	143	2,209	75	1,345	16,029	Interdenominational, including Staff of Bible Societies and Y.M.C.A.
14	301	824	228	4,263	45	1,808	19,639	Unclassified, including Continental Societies.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Independent and Unconnected Workers
367	2,583	9,904	2,196	42,546	389	15,137	178,251	

edited by D. MacGillivray, page 674.

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